

THE S W E D I S H INTELLIGENCER.

The Third Part.

V V H E R E I N ,

O V T O F T H E T R V E S T
and choyseſt Informations, are the famous
Actions of that Warlike Prince Histo-
rically led along; from the *Norimberg Leaguer*,
unto the day of his death, at the *Victory of*
Lutzen. With the *Election of the young*
Queene of Sweden: and the *Diet of Heilbran*.

The times and places of every Action,
being so ſufficiently obſerved and deſcribed;
that the Reader may finde both *Truth*
and *Reaſon* in it.

Vnto which is added

The Fourth Part.

V V H E R E I N ,

The chiefest of thoſe Military Actions of other *Swedifh*
Generalls, be related: wherein the King himſelfe, was
not personally with the Army.

L O N D O N ,

Printed by *I. L.* for *Nath: Butter* and *Nicholas Bourne*.

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WEDDING

1889 AUGUST 11
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*...A yester day early I am exhibited
...To you who have seen my visibillit of yester
...day I did not then think she had
...done me any wrong*

10. *Leucosia* *leucostoma* *leucostoma* *leucostoma* *leucostoma*

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To the favourable and Iudi- cious Readers.

THAT my *Dedication* inscribes it selfe to the *Favourable Readers*, before to the *Iudicious*; is not so much out of *Complement*, as *Conscience*: he that is guilty to himselfe of being *leſſe Iudicious*, hath themore need his *Readers* should be *Favourable*. And yet (thankes to your faire acceptance for it) I have hitherto received no such discouragement from the *most Iudicious*, that I need complaine they were *leſſe Favourable*. For your honest pleasures (Gentlemen) and in thankfulness to your courtesies; have I vndertaken this my last labour.

I have done all, with as much diligence, as a Scholler (*morally*) might doe: yea with importunity of diligence, have I sollicited such Gentlemen, as I knew to have beene in action, and that could teach me any thing. And something more than a com-
mon

To the Reader.

most diligence, haue I vsed in it. The Italian Painter hath *3. degrees of Composicion*, with prefacing of his *Pieces*. If he failes his burden *con diligenter*, with diligence, its no great commendation of his paines, for he meaneas no more than an ordinary diligence. His second degree of praysing it, is *con studio*, with studie: and by that would he tell you, that his braine and hand, have a little more laboured, both vpon the designing and the colouring. But if he adges *con amore*, that he did it with a love and an affection to the Piece or Party: oh Lais *de Medoyna*, then: and the Italian himselfe is at the highest of his expression.

I haue (as little as might be) and especially in the Kings Story, trusted to no written Relations, unless received from a knowne hand, or confirmed by personall eye, or ear witnessesse. No, I haue not singly relied, so much as upon that diligent amaser of the Dutch Contraries, the Gallobelgicus, and the Arme Sacke, le Soldat Suedois. I meane by it, upon whose singule credit, I haue no where wriuen any thing; excepting in those slighter encounters about Norimberg. And yet, even there, had I beeene in the same booke, with him, and before him: the High Dutch Relations. I commend, (as much as any man) the queynnesse of his language, and the neatnesse of his conceits, many times: which are the relishes of a French witnessesse in him. His best pieces, are the *Abridgements of the lives of the two Kings*. Divers of the conceits, therefore, of the first of these; have I made some use of, in my Character of the King of Sweden. The Second, have I wholly taken into my
nom
Character

To the Reader.

Character of the King of Bohemia: and I had divers reasons for it. Tis finely done; I was glad to see a Frenchman give that good King his due; and twas safer for mee to Translate that, than to invent a new one. Beyond this, would I by this *Essay of Translating*, try Masteries with the *French Language*: I confess my selfe to bebut a hanging smatterer at it; and yet thus farre dare I be deposed. That had a queynt penne the doing of it, the *French* it selfe should not be able to translend our *English*, in the happinesse of expressions.

For the truch of those *Relations*, wheren I differ from that *French Author*, I report mee to those that have reade both, and have beeene personally present in the *Actions*. And thus much (because we differ) had I reason to say imme owne defence, and to prevent, withall, the abusing of my Countrimen, should He happen to be translated into *English*. Mine owne ambition is not, that this Piece of mine should be exempt from censuring, or to be taken for above the true value of it: nor do I profess my selfe to be other than (like an *Architect*) the *disposer of other mens Materials*, at my best value. I am *Author* of nothing here, but of the mistakings: & even of those, though I strongly be *suspicious*: yet am I, (no way) *conscious*. Knowingly, I haue committed nothing against *Truth*, nor traduced peevishly, the honor of any person. I could tell no more than I knew, nor would not sure, I cannot have written all, but what I have is neer about the matter.

In writing of this *Story*, those two obiections of the *Turkes*, against the likelyhood of all

To the Reader.

Histories, may appeare to be well satisfied. A Story-
Writer (say those Barbarians) In the time, dares not,
and After the time, cannot, write truely. For the first
of these: the distance of the place secures me, against
the feare of writing too truely of the present. My
selfe, (not since these warres) was never neere enough
to the persons or places of action; to be either bribed
or skared by them. And as for the Authors, whom
chiefly I have consulted; though they were some-
times Gentlemen of the Army; yet have they now
put themselues beyond the feare or hope, of pleasing
or displeasing: because out of the service and depen-
dancy. The second objection is by this well ta-
ken away, too; for though my Story be written after
the time of doing, yet not beyond the memory of it.

And thus, in this Iland, have I done with this
farraine Story; as in some *Houses of pleasure*, I have
seene done with the *Landscape* of a Countrey: where
the *Hills* and *Woodes*, and *Housis*, have by *Perspective*
and *Art Optick*, beene so brought thorow a small
hole; that they have in little beeene reflected upon a
Paper, or *polisht Stone*, in a *Study* or a *Dynning-roome*.
And I have used the same *Art Perspective*: the *Landscape*
of these *Swedish Warres*, have beeene out of *Ger-*
many brought home into my *Study*, which my *Paper*
here reflects off againe. *In little*, I meane, and as I
could; and though not in their iust *magnitude*; yet
in lines something towards their proportions.

If I have made my Readers waite, a while, in ex-
pectancy of my *Relations*: I hope they will please
to allow of this answer, for a satisfaction. That I
only

To the Reader.

onely staid, till false rumours might be contradicte^d; true reports, b^rought home to me, by men present; and the passions of people a little over, which might either make them harder of beleefe, or over-credu-
lous. My office (so hath God disposed of it) hath
beene, not that of an *Historiographer* alone, but of a
Herald also: one, that having served a Prince, first in
denouncing of his *Warres*, and then in celebrating of
his *Triumphs*; performes his last duties to him, at his
Funeralls. So have my *Three Bookes* beene. My *First Part* proclaimed, the King of *Swedens* comming into
the Field, and the *Caus^es* for it. My *Second Part*
marshalled him along, all in *Victories* and in *Glories*: and my vnlucky *Third*, here waites upon him, in his
Obsequies. The death of the King of *Sweden*, hath
made his *Intelligencer* speechlesse: it cannot be expe-
cted, that a *Logician* should proceed in his *Argument*; after that the *Adversary* hath taken away the *Subiect* of his *Question*. I have done with *Novelties*, now; and I
henceforth desire my *Readers* to discharge me.

describentes edificios en la finca sita en la villa de
Cádiz en la parroquia de San Bartolomé, que es la que
se describe en el escrito de la finca de la finca de
la villa de Cádiz en la parroquia de San Bartolomé.
En la villa de Cádiz en la parroquia de San Bartolomé,
que es la que se describe en el escrito de la finca de
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la villa de Cádiz en la parroquia de San Bartolomé.



THE S W E D I S H Intelligencer.

The Third Part.

From the time of the K I N G S

encamping before N O R I M B E R G ,
untill the day of his death at the
Battell of L V T Z E N .



Ow noble a Master of his word(even
to the uttermost possiblitie of per-
formance) the King of Sweden still
was; may (if we wanted the assu-
rance of other examples) abundantly
enough appeare by his present
carriage alone, towards the faire Ci-
tie of Norimberg.

The Story
fetches a little
higher, then
the end of the
last Part.

His Highnesse the Duke of Ba-
varia having beeene sholdred out of his owne Countrey, and
aken his retreate into the Upper Palatinate; (as in the latter
part of the last Part.)

A

end

The Swedish Intelligencer.

end of our *Second Part* we have told you) the King, out of a desire to fight with him, before he should be joyned with *Walenstein*; had even thither also pursued him. And but little missed he, of lighting on him. For having advanced by *Norimberg* unto * *Swabach*: hee left the Army 3 leagues further, and above *Sulzbach*; going himselfe with his whole Horse, 4 peeces of Cannon; and Sir *John Hepburn*, (as himselfe pleased to tell me) with 2000 Musketiers, to seeke out and to surprize *Bavaria*. A generall guesse hee now had, whereabout the Duke should bee enquarterred; though by reason of his being still in motion, he could have no exact certaintie. Going, therefore, on the lefthand of *Amborg*; he comes to a little towne thereby, lately forsaken by the Duke. That night, lay He within 4 *Englsh.* miles of the *Bavarians*: which had he surely knowne, he had without doubt, cut him all in pieces. But the Duke, that evening, having better intelligence where the King was; then the King had, where the Duke was: rose with all speed and hastned towards *Egra*, to conjoyne with *Walenstein*: both of them presently returning againe upon the King. This caused His Majesty, to turne backe from them: he being too weake, at that time, (by three parts) to meeete them in *Campagnia*.

And now remembers he his Royall word, passed heretofore unto the *Norimbergers*. Their towne, being mighty in power and example; had, at first, committed it selfe vnto his devotion: and hee, againe, in the word of a King, had assured it of the uttermost of his protection. To disengage himselfe of this promise: he in *November* before, was once advancing from about *Franckford*, with his whole Army, to have leaved *Tillyes* siege from before it: and now againe engages he himselfe, to be by *Walenstein* besieged with it. Thus is he become, a full capitall pledge for it; whilst he adventures to stand bound, body and goods with it. Round about this Towne, we in our *Second Part* left him encamped; and there, he for 16 weekes after stayed: for that Townes sake alone, submitting himselfe unto such multitudes of inconveniences.

* Namely that *Swabach*, which is North-East of *Norimberg*, 20 *Englsh.* miles: neare the head of the river *Swabach*.

The King mis-
sing but little
of surprising
the Duke of
Bavaria,

retires backe
againe,

and encampes
about *Norim-
berg*.

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conveniences, and so many varieties of great dangers; as his victorious proceedings had not hitherto beeene confroneted withall: all which, a farre meaner experience then a King of Swedens could not but foresee, now ready like a tempest to come flowing in upon him.

His Highnesse the Duke of *Bavaria*, had taken fore regett at this *Norimberg*; and, for its entertaining the King of *Sweden*, had his Generall *Tilly* offered to beleaguer it. And had this Duke beeene strong enough, he would, perchance, haue beeene content, with an indifferent occasion to have quarrel'd it: for besides the addition of so strong a Passe, andable Iurisdiction, unto his already devoured *Upper Palatinate*: it had His reasons been an Inlett, withall, to his progresse into the Marquisates for it. of * *Onspach* and *Peyret*, belonging unto 2. Princes of the House of *Brandenburg*; and by *Onspach*, into *Franconia*. The * They write Imperiall Generalissimo, besides, had now threatened to write it themselues vp in red letters in his Almanack; to make a *Martyr* of it, and *Burgaves of* to change *Norimberg*, into *Maydenburg*: hee had vow'd the *Norimberg*. City to the flames, and the riches of it, for a prey unto his souldiers. This danger was the Towne now in the more need, therefore, for the King to keepe his word with it.

And yet was it a mixt action, too: there were other concurring causes, for the Kings sitting downe about *Norimberg*, besides the bare keeping of his promile with it. These were some of the preuailing reasons, that drew the King thither.

First, should he have left it unto the fury of the enemy, the whole world might iustly have condemn'd him, as a man more regardfull of his safety, then of his honour. Then, the Imperiall Cities (whose Champion he had heretofore professed himselfe) perciuing him so carefull to make his owne game, would also have plaid the best of theirs: and *Norimberg*, among the rest, would quickly have falle off from him, and saved its owne stake with the Emperour.

Secondly, This Towne of *Norimberg*, was a Passe of mighty importance: not onely, by the advantage of its situation, which was its neighbourhood vnto many smaller Principa-

1.

2.

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lities (all in League with it) but a very considerable State likewise of its selfe it is, for the largenes of its owne Iurisdiction. The soile, indeed, is but woody and sandy: but the Lordship of it, is (much what) sixteen English miles square, with about 20. good Townes and Flecks, and sixe or seuen skore villages in it. *Norimb erg*, therefore, was worth the looking after.

3. Thirdly, the City it selfe had now given him an assurance; how excellent well it was provided, for the sustaining of his Army: which, notwithstanding that it maintained 30000 or 40000 people, for sixteene weekes together, yet at the Kings rising, was not bread much dearer, then ordinarily tis in *London*.

And these three, together with the honour of keeping his word, were the chiefe of the reasons for the Kings encamping about *Norimb erg*. Had he more entended the advancement of his other victories, then the safety of this Towne; he might then have marched up into the Bishop of *Bambergs* Countrey, and have expected *Walenstein* in these quarters: and so by laying the seate of the warres, in that Bishopricke, have abundantly beene revenged of that Prince, for the breach of his former promises. Againe, the Kings Army was now but small: for though it had the reputation of 20000 men, by the Ensigne; yet surely (so weake were the Companies, that the forces of the Towne excepted) they could not muster above 15500 reall marching men, to be reckoned by the Poll. Had, therefore, the chiefe of his care beene, to have first re-enforced his Legions; and then to have returned upon the enemy: he should (in all probability) have retired beyond *Norimb erg*, towards the banks of the river *Maine* in *Franconia*. Thereabouts, was the whole Country at his devotion: and hither, might the severall Armies which he had now tent for, with lesse danger, and more speed, have marcht up to him. But either of these, had he now done; then, doubtlesse, would *Walenstein* so strongly have entrencht himselfe before *Norimb erg* in the meane time, that there would have beene no remooving of him.

Severall

Several Chieftaines with their Armies, had the King now abroad, vpon other employments. Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar*, was beyond the river *Wefer* about *Brunswickland*. The Landgrave of *Hessen*, about *Paderborn*, and the Duke-dome of *Westphalia*. The *Rex-Chancellor Oxenstain*, about *Menz*; and Duke *Bernard* with the Generall *Bavier*, in *Bavaria*. All these Armies, he had at his first encamping, commanded with all speed to come and ioyne with him: which whilst they are about to do, we shall entertaine our Readers with the chiefeſt of those military diſcourses, deſcriptions, and rencounters: which paſſed betwixt the two Armies about *Norimberg*.

Begin we with the Kings Leaguer, and the deſcription of it, as also of the ſtrength he had to lay in it. He had, at his firſt ſitting downe, ſixe *Brigades* of foote forces: three whereof were commanded by *Grave Needles*; and the other three, by Sir *John Hepburn*, which came to betwixt ſeven and 8000 and no more. About that ſtrength, were his Horſe: not full 8000 compleat, and yet laſt upon it. The Right wing of theſe horſe, was commanded by Lieutenant General *Strieff*, and the Left wing, by Lieutenant General *Goldſtein*. His Artillery, conſisted of 20. Peeces of battery, and 30. Fielding Peeces, of 3. and 6. pound ball. The King, ſo ſoon as ever he had taken the reſolution of retyring to *Norimberg*: had ſent before hand to the Towne, to have his Leaguer proвиded for him about the City. Himselue with his Army, ſtaid two dayes in the Mountaines, whiſt his Quarters might be ſomething towards a readineſſe: ſo that at his firſt comming, he found the Trenches halfe wrought by the Burgers. They were found too little, when the King came to lodge his Army in them: for which cauſe, his Maieſty in perſon rode round about the Towne to lay out the ground for enlarging of the Quarters: which contained 35000 Rods of ground, within the vttermoſt line of *Circumuaſion*. And for my understanding of this ſtrength and Leaguer; are the thauſands due unto the Noble and valiant Sir *John Hepburn*.

The Kings
ſtrength,

with the de-
ſcription of his
Leaguer.

The fashion of the City of *Norimberg*, enclines, mostly, to a circle, and yet something to an oval figure. The small river *Pegnitz*, runnes in at the East, and out at the West of it. It hath many faire Suburbs; and in them, was the Kings Leaguer: it embracing both Towne and Suburbs, roundabout, within the compasse of its protection. I begin to describe the Fortifications upon the East side, by the river, and the Suburbe of *Weert*. Hence, all about the hill of the *Jewes*, unto *S. Johns*, was it taken vp with divers *Bassions*, and *Retrenchments*: all these, being guarded by their *Flanckers*, and other ordinary *Dfences*. On the other side of the water, was the *Pent* encompassed about with another *Fort* or *Bastion*: which being well Flanckered with a *Curtaine*: was also joyned unto a Fort new builded in the Suburbe called *Gassenhoff*: and that well defended likewise with divers *Halfe-Moones* and *Horn-works*. The Suburbe called *Steinwheel* towards *Scheinaw*, was strongly entrenched likewise: guarded besides with two other *Forts*, joyning one upon another. Towards the wood of *Rotenbach*, was there a *Fort-royall* erected: and another towards *Gleishammer*, upon the way that leadeth towards *Altorff*. Divers *Batteryes* were erected here and there, betweene which were plentifullly furnished with the Kings owne Ordnance, and others out of the Towne *Magazine*. The *Works* were strongest, upon the South side, for that the King suspected the enemy likelyest to encampe there: and upon the East side, towards the Vpper *Palatinate*, for feare the Imperialists should have had the courage to have faine on upon the neerest side to them, at their first comming. The *Moate* or *Graff* round about all, was, generally twelve foot wide, and eight deepe: and about the *Head-works*, eighteen foot wide, and twelve deepe. The King of *Bohemias* Quarter in the Leaguer, was at *Weiershaus*, (a house of one *Weier*, a Burger) on the South side of the City, and in the way towards *Newmarkt*. Eight thousand souldiers, laboured daily upon the Fortifications; nor yet were the *Works* fully perfected, at *Walensteins* first comming:

comming : so that the King looked prently to have beeene assaulted. But our *Generalissimo*, in the point of fighting, deceipted the expectations both of his friends, and of his enemies.

And this is something towards the description of the Kings Leaguer. And here was his Maiesy now resolved to abide that shooke and tempest of warre, which from the whole power of the *League* and *house of Austria*, he had last Spring expected should at *Menz* have falle upon him. At *Menz*, therefore, did he last yeere make those so large Fortifications and Bridges, which Page 51 of our *Second Part* you shall finde described. There had hee taken in the hils about the Towne ; not so much to make the City stronger (which plainly he did not) but to have a Camping-place for the lodging of such an Army, as might beare the brunt of the whole power of the Empire.

Doe we now as much for their Highnesses the Dukes of *Fridland* and *Bavaria*. The Army was much about the same number that we have before let you downe, Page 233. of our *Second Part*. For in the end of this *July*, that they encampt in ; *Walenstein* himselfe sent a *Lift* of his whole Forces, unto his Imperiall Majesty at *Vienna*. In it, were 191. Cornets of Horse besides *Crabats* and *Dragooners* : with 149. Foot Companies. The Horse, at 125. to a Comet (which is the usuall proportion) amount to about 20000 : And so many Dutch Horse he had indeed. His Foot, at 300. compleat, to a company for halfe of them (for so *Walfsteins Lift*, was) and The Forces of *Walenstein and Bavaria*. the rest, as strong as the Captaines could make them, amount to 40000 : and so many marching men they had *effettive* : (tis the word of the forenamed Gentleman) who accounted themselves 80000. The *Crabats* were full 5000. men, who gave out themselves to be 8000. And this was their whole strength (and with the least too) 40000. Foot, and 25000. Horse: in all 65000. fighting men: who either for their owne credits, were apt to beleive it, or for policy and terror helpt to glue it out, That they were 128000.

These

And their great Officers. *Gallas*, (an Italian of Friuli, and a braue Gentleman) Lieftenant-General, and he gave out the orders. In the Duke of *Bavariaes Campe*, had *Altringer* the same office: who yet was to be directed and controlled by *Walenstein*; the Duke of *Bavaria* himselfe (many times) knowing nothing, till the command was to be executed. *Major-General* of the Horse unto *Walenstein*, was *Colonell Holck*, a Subiect to the King of Denmark. His *Generall-Major* of the Foot, was the Colonel *Sparre*, a little blacke Gentleman, and a *Pomerlander*. The valiant Baron of *Cronenbergh* (as I take it) was *Generall-Major* of the Horse unto *Bavaria*, but who was of his Foote, I know not: *Cratz* was not now in the Leaguer; for he was yet busie against *Bavier*, in *Bavaria*: and hee afterwards offered to hinder him, when hee came towards *Norimberg*. But this I have but by heare-say. Other great Commanders, which at the first comming, had severall Quarters, in the Leaguer, were Count *Maximilian Walstein*, and Count *Bernard Walenstein*, Kinsmen, I suppose, unto the *Generalissimo*. The Baron of *Schomberg*, and Colonel *Piccolomini*, an Italian Gentleman: with *Iisolani*, *Mittscha* and *Gratzij*, Colonells Generall of the *Crabats* and *Hungarians*, in their Quarter. *Walenstein* at his first comming, sate downe a night or two about *Schwaback*, untill his Quarters could be made ready for him: which done, then went he and sate downe in his Leaguer.

The whole Imperiall Leaguer, was at first divided into eight severall Quarters: if the *Figure* cut in Copper be true, which I have seene printed, with a *High Dutch* descriptiōn, to it. But these 7. lesser Quarters were rather scored out, then really fortified: for that they served but till the great Quarter could be finished. The distance of his Quarters from the Kings, was about 4. miles *English*. Their first and Head-Quarter, (which was farre the largest) was by *Metzendorff*, upon the North-West of the river *Pegnitz*, betwixt the High-wayes unto *Wurzburg* and *Bamberg*. This was almost like an *Oval*: and the river *Rodnitz*.

The Imperiall
Leaguer, and
the 8. severall
Quarters of
it described.

mitz, ranne close by it upon the Northerne border. The second Quarter, was by Scheurlung, betweene the way to Wurzburg (which parted it from Walsteins) and the riuver Pegnitz: close upon the Westerne banke of it. Here Piccolomini commanded. The third Quarter, was by Muggenhoff; at a good distance from the Southerne banke of the riuver, and from Piccolominies Quarter: with 2. Royall Forts betweene, and their Batteries. Here was Count Maximilian Wallenstein lodged. The fourth was on the South side of the Kings Leaguer, by Hoffen; and there lay Baron Cronenberg. The fifth was on the same side towards the right hand, by Saint Leonard: which was called Baron Altringers. Betwixt these two went the High-way to Recheldorf. The sixth, was by Pultmull, on the East side of Norimberg and beyond the riuver, on the Northerne banke, a great distance from Altringers, with a very great Fort, betweene the way to Schwabach and the Pegnitz. And here, Count Bernard Wallenstein commanded. The seuenth, was by Prentzengart; betwixt the high-waies that leade to Amberg, and to Culmbach: on the North-East of Norimberg: This was the Hungarian and the Crabats Quarter: whose chieffes were Iisolani, Mittscha and Gratzij. The 8. and last Quarter, was by Rebenberg; betweene the wayes to Culmbach and Bamberg, upon the North of the City; and neere unto the Head-Quarter. This was the Count of Schonbergs. Betwixt each of these, were there Workes and Forts, one or two; according to the distance.

This mighty Leaguer, was vaste, rather than accurate; Wallenstein, surely, was defective in this point of military excellency: he is none of the best Spademan; nor had he any good Enginiers about him. Seuen of these 8. Quarters, were but slight ones; a little earth cast vp, and barricadoed with Wagons, trees and other encumberments. Nor were they close behind: as if out of a military bravery, they would have the King know, they trusted more to their strengths, than to their trenches. Nor did these 7. Quarters last long: but onely till the Head-Quarter could be enlarged and fortisid: and that

The Swedish Intelligencer.

after the sending out of *Holck*, and other forces to take vp the chiefe Posts of the Country: all the rest were drawne out into the great Leaguer that we now decribe. The *Avenues* or *Passages* of this great Leaguer, in and out, thorow the Retrenchments, had *Barricadoes* right before them, made with Truncks and mighty boughes of Trees, among: with broken Wagons, Tumbe-pikts, Gabions, or Cannon-baskets, pieces of old Caske fill'd up with earth and stonies, and many such other rude devices, to blocke up the way-withall: especially against Horse, and sudden *Camisadoes*. The place for some of his Quarters, was a natural Fortification, hilly, wooddy, and bushie: and especially by the hill and old Castle of *Altendorp*, made famous on Saint *Bartholomew's* day following, by a most notable conflict for it. And this hindred, among the rest, that the *Viceroy* *line of Circumvallation*, or the true Compassie of the Campe, could not exactly be laid out: or at least, I know it not. All the bridges over the 2. little rivers, had bee caufed to be broken downe: at *Katzwang*, namely, *Reyssel'dorff*, *Stain*, *Weykerhoff*, and *Furt*, that so, no body might, on the sudden come at him. Divers villages were within these Quarters, the Duke of *Bavaria* being lodg'd in one of them: yea and *Walenstein* himselfe, though he had his day Pavilion in the open field, for the most part, and when it was faire weather; yet was his lodging (wh^ere he pleased) within a house. And this was fittest both for his diseases and humours: he is shrewdly troubled with the Goute, so that hee goes softly, and is led sometimes. Some other crazynesses, is he likewise troubled with, for which the cold earth is not so kindly. He loues to keepe a State, fit for the dignity of his place: and that affects priuacy and retyrednesse.

*walenstein's
diseases.*

*walenstein's
Authority,*

The Sovereignty (I must not exprefse it in a lower stile) over the *Albion*, was absolutely, at the Duke of *Fridlands* disposure: for so much he tooke upon him, as *Imperiall Generalissimo*. He was *Fellow in Armes*, and no *Generall*, over the Duke of *Bavaria*: for that his Army, was independant; and he, as a Prince of the Empire by himselfe, had levied it at his.

his owne charges. Yet did *Walenstein* command all; and that with a *Switch* (as it were;) his Orders being giuen out with an *Impenitent Eloquence*, which is *Breefenesse*. His pleasure (so much is due to a Generall) must not onely be uncontrollable, but undisputable: and he is a most sudden and feuere *Inſtrictor*, (when he pleases) for his *military discipline*. *Hang the beast*, (thats his word) that obeys not with a seruile celerity. Hee is a bountifull-handed man, where he finds deseruing: and these two things, *Rewards* and *Punishments* (and enough of both) are the *Secrets* of his *Discipline*; these are the chiefe lawes that kept his Campe in exceeding good order, all the time of this Leaguer; and himſelfe well beloved of his ſoldiers. There was no great good heartineſſe of affection (ſome will fay) betwixt the 2. Dukes: and if *Bavaria*, at any time, interpoſed his countell; *Walenstein* would take no more of it, then ſhould ſerue his turne: good aduice, perchance, being now and than diſcountenanced, for the Giver.

The Campe being fortified, the *Generalissimo* gave this generall order unto his ſouldiers, that they ſhould make more uſe of their trenches, than of their weapons: That they ſhould not, but with ſpeciall leauie, goe out upon commanded Partees, and that very ſtrongly: That they ſhould not, but upon command, ſtraggle abroad after forage or adventures: but continue to make good the Poſts, they were commanded to, till they were relieved. That they ſhould, for the moft part, containe themſelues upon the deſenſive within their Quarters: and when they were in commanded Partees ſent abroad, they ſhould then hinder the *Swedes* from getting forrage. He had taken a very excellent order, for the victualling of his Army; for ſure, the Duke of *Fridlands* Master piece, is to be a good *Provitioner*: and he hath a ſingular good *Catering wit* of his owne. Above all, had he taken good care for his *Proviant-bread*, which is halfe the ſtanding diet of a ſouldier: and they will doe well enough, where bread is good, and plentifull. That which moft incommoſſated him, was, That navigable river, he had none, for the ſervice

Orders,

and provisions
for his Army.

whence,
and
how, fetched.

vice of his Leaguer. The river *Rednitz*, though it ranne from his Campe, into the Bishopricke of *Bamberg* (a friends countrey) yet it being both narrow, and shallow, and against the streame too; it was no way capable of any great carriages. His trust for the bringing of his victuals, therefore, must bee by Convoyes over land: which were farre more casuall, and more chargeable. He had laid all the country for provisions. Divers troopes of his Cavallery, were sent unto all the next greater townes and Passages, then at his devotion: which were there to hold their Quarters. As to *Cronach*, namely, and *Forcheim*, in the Bishopricke of *Bamberg*; *Wilsburg* Castle, and *Weissenburg*, an Imperiall towne by it, in the Bishopricke of *Aichfles*. Some of his Forces had beeene left beyond *Norimberg* in the *Upper Palatinate*, to secure that, and *Bohemia*: and others were already advanced beyond it, to the townes upon the river *Aisch*, in *Franconia*. The *Crabats* roared up and downe, from *Forcheim*, almost, unto *Wurzburg*: yea he had made sure worke of it, euen as farre as the towne of *Regensburg* in *Bavaria*: and had blockt up all the chiefe Posts and Passes, betwixt these townes and *Norimberg*. From all these (and from *Regensburg* especially, whether it was sent him along the *Danuby*, from *Vienna*) was his Campe served with provisions; and the Kings Leaguer thereby cut off, from all necessaries: Every day were strong commanded Horse-Partees sent abroad, to lye upon several Posts and Passages of advantage; to intercept the Kings Foragers. This was commonly the *Crabats* businesse: who lay up and downe, 4. 6. 8. or 10. miles from the Kings Leaguer. With these, had the Swedish Partees their most encounters; but for brevities sake, I must not insist upon every skirmish.

Walensteins
purpose, in en-
camping by
the King.

All this was done by *Walenstein*, with Judgement, and like a Generall: and this was all the force hee used to constreine the King, to dislodge from before *Norimberg*, and to abandon it up to his mercy. Other force, he attempted none. He saw the Kings Works and Retrenchments, to bee made so strong, that it would prooue a desperate piece of seruice, for who-

whosoever should undertake to assault them. And *Walenstein* boldly gaue it out, *That it sortid not with the Service of His Imperiall Majesty to have the new Army hazarded, upon a Battell or Invasion: That there had beeene too much attempted that way, before; and that he would shew the King of Sweden another kinde of Warre-faring.* And thus much indeed, was by some prisoners of great note, confessed unto the King, afterwards: namely, that the Imperiall *Generalissimo* had this plot upon him. To draw the Warre out into a length; and to awaite the favour of opportunity: hoping, at last, to serue himselfe so well, upon the Kings necessities; that, either, they should so constraine him, or his friends so perswade with him; that he should, if not offer, yet not deny; to hearken unto a good Treaty. This if it tooke well, then should the advantage, in the conclusion of the Peace, make him a faire sauer for his patience, preserve Hian a gallant Army, to be otherwhere employed for His Imperiall Majesty: and gaine, finally, a most ample reputation unto the name of *Walenstein*: as one that had onely knowne, how to handle the King of *Sweden*.

This was *Walensteins* Rest up, and he was resolved to act no part but of *Fabius*: he had the King in a Coope, or in a toyle already, and there (for a while) he meant to keepe him, and *Norimberg*. Something indeed, his Army did, at their very first comming into those Quarters: but they were not any attempts upon the Kings Trenches, but some out-rydings, and *Cavalcadoes* onely, upon the Jewes of *Furt*, and Burgers of *Farenbach*, whom his men plundered. Some other foraging voyages they also made upon the Boores barnes and houses, in the smaller townes of the neighbour Marquisate of *Onspach*; (commonly called *The Lower Marquisate*) and into the Iurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*. The poore towne of *Swabach* (8 or 9 English miles from *Norimberg*) now falling into the Lordly displeasure of the *Generalissimo*, (for that it had slaine 50 of his men, in the taking of it) was by him destinated unto an uniuersall destruction. The execution upon the coun-
try abroad.

was stayed, by the Duke of *Bavaria's* intercession : (which was granted, as the first motion he had made to him) and the punishment commuted to a ranome : as a surety for which moneys, the chiefe Magistrate was carried away prisoner.

Divers able troopes, were by our *Generalissimo* (at his very first setting downe) dispatched further into the Marquiseate of *Onspach*, and the Dukedom of *Franconia*. Neere *Onspach*, was the Towne and Castle of *Liechtenau* within the Jurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*, pressed, but not taken yet, by the *Walsteiners*. Three of their Regiments attempted an Aenslaught upon the Imperiall Citie of *Winsheim* upon the river *Aisch*, 30 English miles to the West of *Norimberg*: and 24 to the Northwest of *Onspach*. But this designe of *ner* repulsed at theirs being discovered and defeated by the *Swedish* garrison, and the Burgers; the Imperialists gat a shrewd brush here, left many of their fellowes behind them, and carried off the best part of 1000 more, wounded with them into *Swabach*. They rambled up and downe as farre as *Vffenbaim* also, eight miles more to the Westward. *Kitzingen*, and *Swinfort* both, were in some dread of them: but that the river *Main* was a good Barricadoe betwixt them and the present danger. All that countrey likewise, which you see bounded with that mighty compasse of the river *Maine*, to the Northward; even from *Bamberg*, unto this *Kitzingen*: was daily ouer-run and brought under contribution, by their Horse-Partees. On the Northerne side of the *Maine* also, those *Crabats* that had their Quarters in and about *Bamberg*; did at pleasure roave up and downe the countrey, even unto the very walles of *Wurzburg*. Due South of *Norimberg*, moreover, even as farre as the *Bishopricke* of *Aichstet*, for above 30 English miles together, was all at their devotion: and did daily furnish the Imperiall Leaguer with provisions. The *Crabats* (who are the ranke-ryders, and common harryers of the Imperiall Army) had by this time plundered *Hippolstein*, a prettie Towne betwixt *Norimberg* and *Aichstet*. Having lodg'd there-a-while, they set it on fire at parting: barbarously enough

*Some walstei-
ner repulsed at
Wirsheim.*

enough laughing at the poore mens miseries, *That they never used to pay their Hosts, in other money.* The Townes of *Carlsberg* and *Rosfall* on the West of *Norimberg*, were also so serv'd: none faring so well, as those that worst used them; and that had the courage to let fyce their Ordnance among them. And thus farre was our *Generalissimo*, absolute Master of the Field: excepting those good Townes onely, which had *Swedish* garrisons in them. All this was done by the middle of *July*, 1632, and now turne we backe againe vnto *Norimberg*.

We told you before, of the good order taken by *Walenstein*, for the victualing of his Army: whiche for all his care, must bee contented with the entertainment of the Warres, and with many an *Italian* dinner. The *Generalissimo's* ordinary dyet, was fixe dishes a meale, and two bottles of wine to it, as long as it lasted. The Kings table, perchance, was nothing better serv'd; as relying wholly vpon the Magazine of *Norimberg*. Hence (as I finde it from severall hands assured,) was his Campe furnished with 8000 pound of bread (80000 some name) daily. The *Norimbergers* wanted Mills, rather than corne: which the enemy had burnt downe. Both parties were faine to Steward their provisions, as thriftily as they could: *Walenstein*, that he might haue enough to starve the King withall: and the King, to be able to hold out, till his Sureties, those other Armies which he had now sent for, should be come vp to baile him. That which most necessitated both the Armies, was want of straw and Horse-meate: for which, whiles both sides sent abroad a foraging, there fell out many a shrewd bickering betweene them: one side carrying away oftentimes, what the others had before mow'd. *Walenstein* kept his Army all this while, under very good discipline; nor durst hee leave them any more at large, unto the libertie of that former licentiousnesse, which in other Warres they had beeene let loose unto. He very well knew, how neare he now was, unto a King of *Sweden*: who still, as any of the Imperialists durst venture abroad a Boot-haling; had ever some Partee or other, upon the powles of them.

And

And in the same manner were the *Swedes* also served : both sides taking their turnes , according to advantage . The first Warre that *Walenstein* now made with the King , was a contention of courtesie : for the man (certainly) is a gallant spirited personage , and full of noblenesse . Hee first of all , (and without ransome ,) sent him home his well esteemed Colonell *Dubatell*: whom , (as in the latter end of our *Second Part* we told you) he had lately taken prisoner about *New-marcke* . With him sent he the King this complement : *That he had no other ambition , then once to see his Majesty , in good termes with the Emperour his Master ; and himselfe to have the honour , to be the Instrument of it.* About a three weekes after , the same courtesie did he againe unto *Ritmaister Reyschel*; whom as he was seeking his adventure abroad , the *Crabats* had taken prisoner . His ransome did *Walenstein* first pay unto the takers ; and then entertaining him in faire manner at his owne Table : franke and free sent him home , after dinner , with this message , onely , unto the King his Master . *That he esteemeſt his Majesty for the best Captaine of the World : and that he would abundantly refte himselfe contented , if he could not by force vanquish him ; yet that he might be the meanes to bring him to a good Treaty with the Emperour.* This being told the King as he after sate at table , He smiling said , *That hee was ready to doe Walstein reason at all times ; and for that he shewd himselfe so honest a man , He had no canſe to wish his Person any ill : the thing that hee above all desired , being , that they two might have a crash together , upon a faire campagna.*

The Kings
answer.

walenstein purposing to contract himselfe into his great Leaguer : sends out , first of all , some of his Forces into other Countryes . Some *Bavarians* (and I have heard that there were 12000 of them , though I beleeve not so many) were sent backe into their owne Dukedom .

and *Holck* into
Misnia.

About the 20th of *July* , was *Holck* Generall-Major of the Horse , sent with 6000 Horse , and 4000 Muskettiers , towards the Duke of *Saxonyes* countrey . His sending out of these Forces , was ; first , to give the rest more roome at home , who

who else should have layne more pent and pestered in their Quarters. Secondly, to easc himselfe of the charges of pay and victuals : they abroad, being to live(as they could) upon the Countrey. His sending out of the *Bavarians*, was to hinder *Baniers* joyning with the King : *Cratz*, with them, first way-laying him about *Weissenburg*, and then afterwards with the helpe of *Lepolds* forces, recovering *Landspberg*, *Schongau*, *Fuersten* and *Munchen* in *Bavaria*. As for *Holck*, he also was sent to hinder the joyning of Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar*, with the King : and if he shoulde come too late for that purpose, then was he to fall into the Duke of *Saxons Voitland* and *Misnia*: where, after Duke *Williams* comming away, he shoulde finde the leesse resistance.

Said it is, that the Duke of *Bavaria* shoulde now be earnest with the *Generalissimo*, to give on upon the King in his trenches, and to venture the beating of him out, before his reliefs shoulde be comne up to him. To this motion, the same Relation makes *Walenstein* returme this answer, That his Army was new, as yet; and if they shoulde be beaten, then were all *Germany* and *Italy*, both endangered : but if *Bavaria* please to fall on first, he would second him with all his forces.

*Bavaria moves
Walenstein, to
beat the Kings
Quarters.*

*Walenstein's
Answer.*

About the end of *July*, did the Duke of *Bavaria* send an *Express* unto the Count of *Pappenheim*; to invite him, rather to come with his forces from the *Weser*, and to make a diversion into *Duringen*, or upon the Duke of *Saxony*; than to goe to serve the *Arch-Duchesse*. These letters being written in *Cyphers*, the Packet was intercepted about *Alesenburg* in *Misnia*, upon the seventh of *August*: the Postillion was carried prisoner into *Salfriet*, and the letters sent unto the King of *Sweden*. This had the Court of *Vienna*, likewise, desired from the Count of *Pappenheim*: who being absolute of himselfe in *Brunswickland* was loath to come too neare a *Generalissimo*: and was now going to relieve *Mastricht*, upon rich promises.

*Bavaria invites
Pappenheim.*

The King, towards the *30* of *July*, hearing of a Convoye of *Walenstein's*, that was to come out of the hether parts of

Austria, towards his Leaguer : sends out Colonel *Wippenhorst*, with a Partee of 200 Horse, and as many Dragooneers; to cut off that Convoye. With these 1600 did *Wippenhorst* light vpon 800, waggons laden with ammunition, and with Gunnes especially : which he destroyed.

About the 27. of *July*, a Partee of *Swedish* Horse, tooke one Captaine *Darmis* prisoner, amongst other Free-booters. He being examined by the King upon his oath, confessed that *Walenssteins* great Magazine of victuals was at *Freyenstat*: which was the place appointed for whatsoeuer came from *Ratisbone*, and the *Upper Palatinate*, untill it were sent for to the Leaguer : which, within 3 or 4 dayes, a strong Convoye was about to goe for. The aduantage of this opportunitie, the King thought worth the taking : resoluing, with the first, to send either to bring away the prouisions ; or to destroy that, which was to feed his enemies.

This towne, is in the *Upper Palatinate*; 5 Dutch miles, or 20 English, to the South of *Norimberg*, and 2 Dutch leagues from *Newmarcke*. The situation of it, is in a Morasse, upon the side of a small namelesse river, and betwixt it and *Schwartzach*. The Leader that the King made choise of to doe the feate, was Colonell *Dubatell*: whom *Walenstein* had lately taken prisoner, and againe released; as we before told you. The Colonel knew the Countrey thereabouts perfectly well: for it was not far from thence, that he had been taken prisoner. The troopes appointed to goe with him, I finde to be 14 Cornets of Horse, some Companies of Dragooneers; and two Wagons laden with Petards, Storming or Skaling ladders, &c. With these, comes he unto *Karnbergh* first; two Dutch miles from *Freyenstat*. His season and march, hee so proportioned; as that hee might bee before the towne hee went unto, afore day-light, upon the Munday morning *July 30*. He did so: and found most of the souldiers and townsmen, very securely sleeping: for who would have suspected, that the King of *Sweden*s smaller Army; being besieged as it were, by two greater; durst have presumed to send twenty miles,

Sends *Dubatell*
towards it,

miles off, to surprise Freyenstein?

Dubael, at his first comming before the Towne; surprises some drowsie Sentinels: and hangs two Petards upon the Sally-port. These not blowing upon the gate, as he expected; who taking he fearing the noyse of their going off, would send in the Towne, Alarme into the Towne; claps his skaling ladders to the naked and un-man'd walles, which he mounts and enters. Other Petards being by this time put to work, had forced open the gate, and made an easie passage that way, for the residue of the Swediſh. They thus gotten in, cut in pieces those few soul-diers, which they found either sleeping or unprovided, upon the next Courts of Guard: and whosoever else, offered to make resistance. Hauing thus mastered all opposition, they make towards the Towne-Hall, which was the Magazine or Store-house they came thither for. There were in it, at this present, 200000 pound weight of bread, great store of Meale, Corne, Salt, and other provissons, sufficient for two moneths victuals for Walensteins whole Army. For the bringing of all this unto the Imperiall Leaguer, were there 1000. Wagons provided: many of them already prest, and some laden, or, not yet unladen, upon the Market place. Many hundred head both of small and great Cattell¹, were likewise found about the towne, which were to be driven alive unto the Imperiall Army. Of these provissons, the Swediſh first of all choosing out so much, as they thought themselves well able to carry away: set fire immediately unto the Magazine. The towne they first plunder, and then set fire to it in seven places at once. Dicers Ladyes, Gentlewomen, and Captaines wives, being at that time lodged within the towne, these, together with their apparel and such like feminine Baggage, as were not fitting for a soul-diers wearing, did the Swediſh, very honest-ly, set to shift for themselves without the towne. Twelue hundred Sheepe and Oxen, with 500 Horses, they also driving away with them, put themselves the same day home-wards upon their march againe: safely recovering to the Kings Quarters, before the now following conflict.

Spoyleſ, and
brings away all
the provissons.

Some Relations
say, that Duba-
el destroyed
all; for that he
was not able to
bring it away
Some with him.

The Swedish Intelligencer.

Some of the Imperiall sholdiers (it seemes) so soone as the *Swedes* were gotten into the towne ; went Post with the newes of it unto *Walenstein*. Which he hearing of ; immediately the same day dispatches the Sergeant-Major Generall of his Foot; towards *Freyenstat*: either to save the residue ; or to cut off *Dubatell* in his comming home againe. It was Colonell *Sparre* that was now sent : the same man whom the King had taken prisoner in *Apriill* last , at *Franckford* upon the *Oder* : and who had begne exchanged for Major-General *Kniphawsen*, whom *Tilly* had taken prisoner at *New Brandenburg*. *Sparre* was sent out with 8 Cornets of Horse, of *Coldredo's* and *Gonzagaes* Regiments, as I finde specified. Twenty troopes of *Crabats* had he also with him : and 500 commanded Muskettires. And he (as I have heard it told) was now going out towards *Amberg* , to finde out a convenient Post or Quarter , where to lodge 8 or 10000 men ; to curbe in the *Swedis* foragers into that Countrey. Hee had a purpose, in his returne, to have spoyled *Altorff*; where the *Norimbergers* have an *Universite*.

With these Forces, *Sparre* the same Munday, advances towards *Freyenstat*. Some of his people (as I guess) passed the river *Schwartzach* , about *Schwartzpruck* towne , over the bridge there : and some others of them (which I suppose to be drawne out of other Quarters) passed the said river beyond or about *Burgtan* ; something more Easterly than their fellowes.

Is encouered
by the King,

The King of *Sweden* to prevent such a matter, and the better to secure the retreat unto *Dubatell* ; goes himselfe out the same day, (before *Dubatell* was come home) with a selected Partee of some 2000 commanded men , towards the said *Freyenstat*. The King passed the river *Schwartzach* , at *Wendlesteinbridge*, (as I take it:) betwixt which towne and *Burgtan*, was the future meeting and conflict. He being passed this bridge, sends (as the manner is) a Sergeant-Major with some Skowtes and Vant-curryers before him , to discover whether the coast were cleere : or whereabouts the Partees

Partees of the enemies, now where. The *Swedish Major* faling fowle of some of *Sparre* troopes, was charged and rowted by them, and himselfe taken prisoner. He being brought unto *Sparre*, Wheres the King, saies he? At hand, answeres the Major. What forces brings he with him? certaine troopes of Horse, quoth the other. Hath he no Muskettiers, saies *Sparre*? No, answeres the *Swede*. Then certainly it is the King, said *Sparre*, and hee shall presently fall into my fingers.

But yet the
King had some
muskettiers
that followed
him; though,
perchance, they
had not all this
while kept pace
in the march
with him.

The King having heard the peeces goe off, in the former conflict: had doubled his march upon it; and was come neere by this time, that he met his owne men flying, and the *Walsteiners* giving chase unto them. The King riding up to his men, with his drawne sword in his hand, returnes their lost courages into them, and them into the Battell. Not many charges passed betwixt the King and the enemies Horse; but that the face of the skirmish began to be altered: insomuch that the Imperiall Horse and *Crabats*, were (to bee briefe) quite rowted and defeated. The Horse of *Gonzagues* Regiment, play the pultrons and ranne away: whereupon *Gonzaga* himselfe, (notwithstanding hee be Cosin unto the Empresse) was at his comming to the Campe, cashiered by the *Generalissimo*: for all that hee cheered himselfe to have beeene forsaken by his Regiment, and to have beeene the last man that stood to it. The 500, Muskettiers making their retreat into a small wood or groave, there at hand: held the King and his men play, a great season. Very good use made they of the wood: which is farre more advantageous for shot, than either for Horse or Pikemen. But the Kings Dragooners alighting with their Muskets, and his Horsetmen round besetting the said wood: discouraged by and by, and overthrew the *Walsteiners*. *Sparre* himselfe was taken prisoner: 600. of his men, were slaine upon the place: and divers more drowned and buried alive, in the river and moorish places, thorow which they thought to have escaped.

Sparre, had now quitted his Horse, and hid himselfe in a

Sparre taken prisoner.

bush in the said thicket. Him, a *Swedish* common souldier thus light vpon. The *Swede* perciuing a gallant empty horse standing tied up thereby, with a goodly embroydered saddle upon his backe: judges him to belong to some brave Cavalier of the enemies, and goes out to find him. He was told by a Horse-boy (a *Walsteiner* then taken and threatned) that it was *Sparres* horse: whom he presently directed the *Swede* unto. He had a rich and masse gold chaine about his necke: of which the souldier first distrobing him, reacht him a good rude brush over the souldiers with the stocke of his Musket, and so brought him prisoner to the King. *Ha Monsieur Sparre* (saies the King) *I see you loue me so well, that you cannot finde in your heart to bee long away from mee.* *Sparre* being brought prisoner into *Norimberg*, was faine to take *Sperma Ceti*, for the bruise that the rough souldier gaue him. With him, was his Lieutenant-Colonel *Tersky* likewise taken, together with 4. Captaines, diuers Officers, and above 100. common souldiers. Three Comets were then obtained, and 2. Ensignes: as for the rest, the *Ancients* had flift them off from their Flagge-staves, and then runne away with them. The King rewarded each of those souldiers that presented him the *Colours*, with 100. Dollars. The losses on the Kings side where not many: but among them, was Colonell *Ries* slaine, who belonged unto one of the Dukes of *Saxon-Weymar*. *Boye*, a *Swedish* Gentleman, lost there his life, and *Yoncker Cratzenstein*, that waited vpon the King in his Chamber. This done, the King, the same night, returned towards his Leaguer: causing a most solemne *Thanksgiving* to bee made unto the *God of Battells*, for this double victory.

The *Swedes* after the taking of this *Freyenstat*, flew out as farre as *Haimburg*: some 9. or 10. *English* miles to the East of *Burgtan*, where the last encounter hapned. This towne, and the Castle to it, they now take in, by which helpe, was all the coast on that side indifferently well cleared: so that the *Walsteiners* being defeated of their intended Quar-

tering

The losses on both sides.

tering place in those parts, the Swedes roave freely vp and downe, as farre as Amberg.

Generall-Major Sparre, being once againe the Kings prisoner, was strictly and upon oath examined, what he knew of his Generalls purposes. He confessed, that they had no other plot upon the King, then by famine to compell him to a trea-
Sparres exami-
nation and
confession.
ty. After this victory, there (for a while) passed nothing of moment, betweene the two Armies. The pettier skirmishes betweene commanded Partees abroad, or the continued night-alarmes upon one anothers Camps or Guards at home, I list not to stand upon. With the same silence would I have passed over, the diseases and fluxes both of the Towne and Leaguers : (notwithstanding that by middle August there dyed 1000, and 1400, a weeke of it) had not his Majesty the King of Bohemia, beene at this time troubled with it. The running away of men, on either side, I omit. The many dead horses : which by this beginning of August, came to some thousands, in both Leaguers : and which, (to the horrible noysomnesse of the Quarters, where they lay vnburied) dai-
The mortality
in Towne and
Leagues.
ly more and more encreased, (or diminished rather) I would not have offend you with; but to shew you how it was possible, for these two great Armies to be reduced to such small numbers ; notwithstanding so few of them were in fight, killed.

Leaving these particulars, I shall (for want of other acti-
None are so
well provided
against this
noysomnesse :
as the crabat: who will eat
you whole
handfulls of
raw Onions &
Garlick, as
familiarly as an
Italian wring
downe fallets,
or we apples: as
if they meant
to out-stinke
the carrion, and
their owne
Quarters.
on) here impart an *Oration* of the King of *Sweden*, on the first of August made unto the Officers of his Army : than which *Speech*, I desire no other Character of the King of *Sweden*, nor no other Interpreter of the Heroicke Justice, of his great intentions. The occasion was this, A complaint of the *Norimbergers* unto his Majesty, how that their lands and territories, had as ill beeene plundered and deftroyed, by thos: of the Kings owne Army, as by the enemies. Calling here-upon, the Officers, great and small, of his whole Army together, hee with the vivacity and passion of an Orator, (wherein hee was excellent) as well as with the authority
of

of a King, uttered a most pathetick Oration before them , of which no more but this extract, hath come within my Intelligence.

The Kings O-
ration against
plunderers.

Yee Princes, Earles, Lords, and Gentlemen :

You, partly, are some of those numbers, that have shewed themselues unfaithfull and disloyall to their owne countrey, and who doe helpe to ruine it. You, my Generals, Leiftenant-Generals, and all your my inferiour Officers ; I haue ever, (as to your honours I here confesse it) esteemeed you for brave Cavaliers : and I beare you witnesse, that upon all occasion of seruice offered , you have in battell given mee so sufficient a demonstration of your valours , as that I have therewithall rested satisfied. But, when having you all here before me , I am put in remembrance of your ravages , robberyes, and plunderings : and that you your selues are guilty of these insolencies, and companions besides, with them that neither observe Discipline , nor doe justice upon malefactors in these kinds : my haire standeth up on end, at the very horrour of it. Let your selues be Judges. Is it not a dolefull and a lamentable case , yea most odious in the sight of Almighty God , that one Christian , and of the same profession in Religion, should pillage one another ? one friend, nay one brother, ransacke, spoyle, ruine and undoe one another ? The veray devils in hell , are more loving and trusty one to another, then you Christians are, amongst those of your owne Countrey.

My heart almost fayleth mee ; yea and my very bowels yearne within me, as oft as I heare it complained of, That the *Swedes* souldiers are more insolent , than the enemies. But they are not the *Swedes*, they are the *Germanes*, that commit all these insolencies. Had I knowne , that you *Germanes* had beene a people of this temper , of a humour, that had borne no more naturall affection to your owne native Countrey , and that you would have done no better service for it , nor shewed more fidelity towards it ; I would never have saddled horte for your fakes : much lesse have hazzarded mine

mine owne kingdome, my life and estate in your behalffes; nor with mise owne person, have adventured so many a brage and valiant Gentleman, as I have done, for your well-fares. No, but since I now perceive, that your selves by these your carriages, seeme to affect and desire it; I would rather have suffered you to remaine in the case yee were in: even plunged in that more then most miserable condition, of an eternall servitude and slavery.

Let your owne consciences be my witnesses, that I doe not usually, deny any of you, a reasonable motion: *Ye my God knoweth besides, That I never intended any other thing, then (by his blessed assistance) to restore every man to his owne, and his owne to every man: and for the remainder, especially what I should obtaine either in Franconia or Bavaria, to distribute and part it among the Nobilitie and Gentry of your nation, and to leave no mans good service unrewarded.* But this most accursed, divelish robbing and stealing of yours; doth, I must needs confesse, much abate my good purposes, and keepe back these my Christian intentions. Have you not so much judgement left, as to consider what kinde of fame and praise that is like to proove; which posteritie shall leave of you, in all future Histories? Remember withall, I beseech you, what a clogge you hereby tye upon your owne consciences: and what judgements and punishments you draw downe upon your persons, and posterities, Countrey and Successours, by these acts of oppression and inhumanitie. Oh, that you cannot consider with your selves, what a fearefull account you are to yeld up to God, at that great and most dreadfull Audite. And for mine owne part; rather would I have still remained in mine owne kingdome, then have coinne hither to behold these insolencies.

You will say, perchance, That you want monyes. But when I have the meanes to satisfie both you and the whole Army; and you by pillaging, robbing, and plundering, shall deprive mee of these meanes: where, I beseech you, is the fault, that you are not satisfied? What share have I at any

time received, out of all these your bootyes? Iust nothing. I doe protest before God, and it is most true that I say, that I have not by all this Warre so much enriched my selfe, as a paire of Bootes come to: and I professe withall, that I would rather ryde without Bootes, than any wayes, or in the least degree, make my selfe the richer, by the damage or undoing of these poore people. I will make it appeare to you, whosoeuer is desirous therein to be satisfied; That since the comming out of mine owne kingdome, at 32 severall returns, I have had full 40 tunnes of gold, made over to mee: all which, I have spent for your good, and for the re-establishment of such Princes, as are unitid with mee, in the same truth of Religion. I might, I confess, have herein beeene silent; but the remembrance of that great losse, which by the deaths of so many brave Worthies and Cavaliers, (whose vertues, indeed, were beyond all estimation) I account my selfe to have sustained, even constrained mee to utter what I doe: for, truely, I ever valewed them, beyond all my riches. And you for your parts; what have you contributed towards all these Warres? This is all, that henceforth I shall desire at your hands; That you spoile not others of their goods, but leave every man unto his owne possessions. The choler and manhood that you have, skore it (a Gods name) upon the fronts of your enemies: but distaine not the honour of a souldiour, by insulting upon unarmed innocents. Live upon your meanes, like souldiours; and not upon pilfering, and spoyling, like highway-robbers. This if you doe not, you shall ever be infamous; and I by such helpers, never become notorious.

Piously spoken, and like a King of Sweden; ev'n like *Gustavus Adolphus*: who had the Religion of a Bishop, and the Equity of a Lord Chiefe Justice in him. And this Oration was said to be delivered with that *sting and life*, that it extracted teares of compunction from these Military hearers: even from men of that profession, who had rather bleed then weape; and doe it oftner. But for that, though words may moue compassion, yet they alwayes worke not reformation;

this

The eighth of
this moneth,
he gave his At-
moneys, out of
the moneys
then borrowed
of the Norim-
bergers at five
in the hundred.

this Speech was seconded with a *Proclamation*, and that made more severe by a *Penalty*: That his Majestie would from henceforth pardon no man, were he Earle, Generall, Colonell; or of what degree and condition soever, that should in this kinde be againe complained of. Adding withall, That if to avoide punishment, any of them all, or all together, should conspire upon a mutinie; that hee with his *Swedes* and *Finlanders* would undertake so to rattle them, that the very shivers of their staves should flie about the eares of them. This prohibition was no sooner by sound of trumpet Proclaimed; but to shew how severe he meant to be in his executions; he causes a Leiftenant to be hanged, for committing some of these aforesaid insolencies. When also a Boore having complained of a souldiour for stealing his Cow from him, there was meanes made to save the delinquent; *My sonne*, sayes the King to him, it is better that I should now punish thee; then that the wrath of God, for thy misdeeds, and his Judgements, should fall downe upon *mee*, and *thee*, and upon all of us here present.

The same day of this Oration, was a Quarter-Master of *Walenseins* taken prisoner: who had the *Lift*, about him, of all the Imperiall Forces. By this time was the Court of *Viena*, very well pleased with the deportment of their *Generalissimo*. And he very well deserved it: for he held the King *Cesar well pleased with walensein.* streightly coopt up hitherto, and had first found out the secret, *That the way to beatre the King of Sweden, was not to fight with them.* Boldly hereupon did they give it out, That the King of *Sweden* was starke foun德red, not able to lift up his legge from the place hee stood on and had therefore demanded a Peace of the Emperour, and leave to retire himselfe out of *Germany*: But his Imperiall Majestie would now handle him in another fashion. As for the King himselfe, he never desired any peace of the Emperour: but (because I will not call it an invention) the rumour might arise, perchance, from the King of *Denmarks* Ambassadour: who in his Masters name (about this time) made some overtures

Terms of
peace talked of.

of a treaty unto his Imperiall Majestie. The Articles hereof, being by an Expresse, sent unto *Walenstein*; Major-Generall *Sparre* a little after this, desired leave of the King that hee might goe into *Walensteins* Leaguer, to propound something, in his owne name, about a peace, and the exchange of certaine prisoners. His motion came to nothing. *Walensteins* selfe, certified nothing but honour of the King, unto *Vienna*; wishing indeed, that there might be some accommodation by a treaty. The better to draw the King on to a treaty, was his Queenes *Cosin*, *Christian William* Administrator of *Magdenburg*, used in the busynesse, (together with the *Danish* Ambassadour:) whom the Emperour in *Aprrill* before, had againe set at liberty. The young *Landgrave* of *Darmstadt* still continued a strong solliciter for a Peace; and especially to his Father in Law the Elector of *Saxony*. But neither could they worke it. Some other motions that way, were severall times projected; but the cunning was, so to bring about the termes, to give both sides satisfaction.

The Story of
the severall Ar-
mies, now com-
ming towards
the King.

Leaving these Treaties in the aire, into which they presently vanish: we will turne our stile towards action againe. Omitting withal, those smaller skirmishes, which daily fell out about the Leaguers: wee will prepare our Readers for greater matters. Those Armies which the King (as we told you) had at *Walensteins* first comming, sent for to come and be his *Maine-prizers*: were by this time a drawing together about the river *Maine* in *Franconia*. Turne we, then, aside awhile, to fetch these Armies into action. The Generals of these Armies were the *Reichs Chancellor Oxenstiern*, the two Dukes of *Weymar*, the *Landgrave of Hessen*, and *Banier*: of all whom severally.

Of *Oxenstiern*,

The *Reichs Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern*, having by the Armies of *Gustavus Horn*, brought the action to a good passe in the Electorate of *Triers*, and with the Bishop of *Cullen*: had the better leisure now, to goe waite upon the King his Master. About the 11th of *Italy*, set he out from *Menz*: with about 8000. men (as twas given out) in his Army. To him does

does the *Landsgrave William of Hessen* with 3. Regiments, and *Hessen*: first come, into *Franconia*. His way, was from the river of *Wefer*: *Pappenheim* (his great adversary) being now going to *Maeistricht-ward*. *Hessen* and the *Chancellor*, both met who being at *Wurzburg*: there expecting the comming of the other ioyned, forces.

There whilst they are, they were not idle: the Imperialists being masters of the smaller townes thereabouts, and going out vpon dayly Partees; gaue them occasion of exercise. About *July 20.* the *Landsgrave of Hessen* sending out a Partee of 500. Horse; with as many musketiers: lighting vpon 3. companies of *Walsteiners*, kills 100. of them, tooke 2. Cornets, and 500. Prisoners, which well helped to increase the Army. This was about *Schweinfurt*, in the *Landsgraves* way towards *Wurzburg*. About this time, the Imperialists of *Forcheim*, made a Cavalcado out vpon the Palace of the Counts of *Cassel*: which they surprised and plundered, to doe something upon the Imperialists the worth of 200000. *Florens*. Good store of prouisions being found therein, the *Walsteiners* went home for some wagons, minding the next day to goe fetch away this booty. By this, had the Chancellor heard of it: who sending out the *Palatine Brickenfelt* to way-lay them: he with 3. troopes of Dragooneers charged them so home, that they were faine to leave their carriages to the *Swedish*: and with the losse of 150. men and 30. prisoners, to betake themselves into *Forcheim*. The *Finnish Colonell Stollhanse* (who also came vp with the Chancellor) going along the *Maine* with 4. Cornets to seeke his adventure: he betwixt *Uffenhaim* and *Kitzingen*, met also with a weake Partee of Imperialists: that were convoying 100. Wagons lading of meale, towards *Walenstein*. These hee first rowting, and they flying towards *Uffenhaim*: the *Fins* so hard pursued them, that they entered the towne pell mell with them. Thus was the Towne and the meale-carts, taken both together: for which exploite, who can deny but the *Fins* very well deserve to eate white-bread.

Duke William
Weymars Story.

The King of Sweden then had an Ambas-
sador with the Switzers (Chevalier Rabe they call him) Duke of Roban ioyned his Ma-
sters minde, to the Switzers by which two, and Duke William; were these Can-
tors brought about, to the King of Sweden

The English &
Scottish of my Lord Marquess of Hamiltons Army, being reduced to 2. Regiments,

are taken on by Duke William
Weymar.

About this 20. of July (*Stilo veteri*) was Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar*, Lieutenant-General to his Maiesly; come up into *Franconia*. This was his march, and Forces. How hee and his brother *Bernard*, had beeene left about *Schwabland* and *Bavaria*, at the Kings comming towards *Norimberg*: wee leave to be read in our *Second Part*. Hee making towards the *Bodensee* (called the *Lake of Constanze*) so well settled the *Switzers* with the neighbourhood of his Army; that upon the King of *Sweden*s letter to them (which see page 173. of our *Second Part*) they (both *Catholicks* and *Protestants*) agreed together to stop up their passages against the *Spanijs* out of *Italy*, and to give no aides unto the Emperor: notwithstanding the vehement sollicitations of Chancellor *Wolmar*, Ambassador with them for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*. Duke *William* having done this by the middle of *June*, was sent unto by the King of *Sweden*, to goe and take on the *English* and *Scottish* of my Lord Marquess of *Hamiltons* Army, then about *Halberstat*. Something of whose Story, we demand leave here to impart unto you.

Of their comming from *Magdenburg* unto *Halberstat* in *Branswick-Land*, we shall anon tell you. Here, at *Halberstat* they lay, upon their owne money, untill about *Low-Sunday*, the 8. of our *April*: at which time, by order from the King of *Sweden*, they were reduced vnto 2. Regiments. The first was of the *English*; over whom was *William Bellendine* (a *Scottish* Gentleman) made Colonell, and Captaine *Terret* Lieutenant-Colonell: They had order to enquarter at *Blanckenburg* in the little County of *Regenstein*, due South of *Halberstat*. Of the *Scottish* Regiment, was *Alexander Hamilton* made Colonell: who was sent to lye at *Warningeroada*, in the same County, within two Dutch miles of the *English*. Here lay both the Regiments, untill they were drawne out by order from Duke *William*, to goe with him to dis-engage the King from before *Norimberg*. To meeete with Duke *William*, they first by a South-Easterly march, goe

goe thorow the County of *Mansfeld* unto *Hall*: where they peec't in with 2. Regiments of Foote more; the *Blue* Regiment, whereof *Rosse* is Colonell: and the *Greene* Regiment, led by Colonel *Wardure*. With these, came 4. Foote-Companies of Colonell *Mitzwall* Governor of *Rain* in *Bavaria*: and a Regiment of Horse, commanded by Colonell *Wedels*. Thence goe they to *Luzen* in *Misnia*, where the Battell was after fought) and so to *Zeitz* (where they first found Duke *William*, with some few troopes of Horse and Foote, which were, indeed, but some odde Squadrons of his owne guards. Thence goe they to *Altemburg*, where they staid 2. or 3. dayes, being well entertained by the Duke of Saxon *Altemburg*. Thence goe they somthing backe againe to *Grea*, on the River *Elster*, where they tarried two dayes more: and thence to *Greventall*, on the edge of the *Duringerwaldt*. Croſſing the ſaid great Forest, at firſt to the Southward, they then turne to *Hilperhansen*, a towne of the Duke of *Saxon-Cobnrgs* on the other ſide of the wood, in *Franconia*. In the field hereabouts, the Army quartered ſome 8. or 10. dayes: the Duke of *Saxon-Coburg* ſending them ſome barrels of powdred Veniſon. Hither came there another Regiment of Duke *Williams*: levied among the Boores, his owne ſubiects. But theſe Boores were ſent backe, all but 400. which were ioyned in a *Brigade* with Colonel *Hinderſons* Dragooneers, that were then a raiſing. Hither alſo came 5. Regiments from the Elector of *Saxony*. Two, of Horse, over both which, the Baron of *Hoffeirch* was Major-General: one of them being his owne, and the other the Prince of *Anhalts*. The other three, were Foote-Regiments: 2. of their Colonels being *Vitzdumb* and *Potlitz*: whose Lieutenant *Bofen* had the Regiments after him. Theſe made up Duke *William* 6. *Brigades* of Foote; compleat numbers. The firſt *Brigade* was made up of the 2. Regiments of our nation: 8. Dutch companies being put to them: that is, 4. of *Mitzwall*, and 4. of *Steinbocks*. This *Brigade* was commanded, by one Colonel one day; and by t'other, another day. The ſecond

The way of
their march to
him, firſt.

And with him
to the Chancellor
or *Oxenſtern*,
afterwards.

Duke *Williams*
whole ſtrength,

cond and third *Brigades*, were the *Blew* and *Greene*, before mentioned. The fourth was of the new levied Boores of Duke *Williams*: and the fifth and sixt were of the Elector of *Saxonyes*: 600. Muskettiers being put to them. Besides all these, there was a Squadron of almost 600. men, which went for a weake Regiment. These altogether, might make up some 8000. strong. Of horse forces, had he first his owne Regiment; secondly, Generall *Baniers* Regiment, commanded by *Ister*, that was his Leiftenant-Colonel: which two Regiments made up some twenty Cornets; besides two Companies of Dragooneers, belonging to *Grimes* and *Lather*, two *Scottish* Captaines. The Dragooneers ride like Horse-men: but they fight on foot. From *Hisperhausen*, went the Army to *Kunighoven*: and thence to *Schweinfurt* upon the *Maine*, where the Duke entrenched. Hence was a Partee of 500. Muskettiers, sent to plunder a little towne, some halfe a dayes march from *Schweinfurt*: whence they returned with good Booty.

Here staid the Army some 10 or 14 dayes: and the Chancellor *Oxenstiern* and the Landgrave of *Hessen*, being now about *Wurzburg*: the two Armies about *August 10th* mooke

All this Relation of Duke *Williams*, received I from Leiftenant-Colonell *Terry*, Captaine *Feilding*, and Captaine *Legg*, then present in the Action
about one towards another, and met about *Kitzing* upon the *Maine*, due East of *Wurzburg*: altogether encamping on the Easterne side of the riuier, next unto *Norimberg*. Thence after foure or five dayes, goe they Southerly towards *Winshaim* on the river *Aisch*, mid-way betwixt which *Kitzing* and *Winshaim*, marching by Generall *Baniers* and Duke *Bernard* of *Saxons Weymar* Quarters: whose forces ioyn'd with them betwixt *Uffenhaim* and *Winshaim*. And their march out of *Bavaria*; turne we backe againe to bring vp, untill this their ioyning with the other Armies.

The King at his last comming out of *Bavaria*, left the Generall *Banier* with an Army about *Aufnrg*: whose businesse was, to observe the *Bavarians*, and to keepe the new Conquest in as good order, as the enemies would let him. The two Brothers of *Saxon-Weymar*, (*William* and *Bernard*),

were

were left with an Army on the out side of *Bavaria*; about *Memmingen* in *Schwabland*: who with Sir *Patrick Ruthven*, were to looke to *Ossa*, the *Leopoldsb*, and the Imperialists in that *Circle*: those, namely, already in the countrey betwixt the *Lech*, the *Danubye* and the *Bodensee*: or which were in the Dukedom of *Wirtemberg* or *Alsatia*; who were still Masters of that corner of *Germany*. Their chiefe Leaders were *Ossa* (both Generall and Commissary, for those parts) *Eggon Count of Farstenberg*, and *Hannibal Count of Hohen-Ems*: which two, having no Army, nor Military Commission from the Emperour (that I heare of) did but labour by raising the Boores (their Tenants and neighbours) to keepe their owne Lands quiet: *Hohen-Ems*, his; at the South end of the *Bodensee*; and *Farstenberg*, his; beyond the *Bodensee* and the *Schwartzwalds* betwixt *Wirtemberg-land* and *Alsatia*, towards the *Rhine-streame*. In *Alsatia*, the Emperours two Generals were *William* (called) *Marquesse of Baden*, and the Count of *Monte Cuculi*: of all which wee shall speake in their order.

The Duke *Bernard* after the taking of the Towne of * *Isnan* among the mountaines towards the *Bodensee*; had also taken the Count of *Hohen-Ems* prisoner in his owne Castle, by *Bregenz* and the *Bodensee*: wee have partly told you Page 172 of our Second Part. This done, while Sir *Patrick Ruthven* and Colonel *Schavalitzki* were employed on the *Wirtemberger* side of *Ulm* and the *Danubye*: the Imperialists (as Page 179 we there told you) were busie about *Ehingen*. To that towne (his brother *William* being now gone to take on the *Scottish* and *English*) turnes Duke *Bernard*, Saturday, June 23, came hee before the Ports: those breakes hee takes *Ehingen*, open with a Petard; and by sound of trumpet after his entry, commanding the townes-men to avoyd the slaughter by taking them to their Houses: hee puts 150 souldiers to the sword: who had before surprized the *Swedes* Officers. Whilst Duke *Bernard* was thus in action about the *Danubye*; the *Leopoldsb* forces, were as busie about the *Lech*, sixtie

The rest of the Actions of this corner, shall be spoken of in *Gustavus Horne Story*.

* The Maps write *Isne* or *Ine*, and *Jnau*.

Duke *Bernard* takes *Ehingen*.

English miles to the South-East of this *Ehingen*. There, about the 20th of *June*, reprise they *Fuessen* first, and *Schongau* afterwards: the Townes-men befriending them. Thence advance they more Northerly towards *Ausburg*; infesting all places about *Landstberg*: where the Citizens also admit them. They, by night, surprize the Cloyster of *Munsgrett*; and there put a troope of *Swedish* Horse to the sword, making the Captain prisoner.

* For *Altringer* was now *Bavariæ Felt-Marschall*.

The *Bavarian* Major-General * *Cratz*, in the beginning of *July*, recovers *Munchen* againe: and the fift of the same moneth by the invitation of the Townes-men, are some troopes of his admitted into *Friedberg*, within five *English* miles of *Ausburg*. Generall *Bauer* had, till now, beene employed towards *Tirole*, *June* 16, hee went from *Ausburg*, with fourte Regiments, and twentie Peeces of Canon. Then besieged he *Winegarten*: which was taken on Sunday *July* 8th: before which, himselfe in person was upon occasion of *Cratz* his comming soone *Ausburg*; sent for backe againe. His Army upon the taking of *Winegarten*, made those of the Imperiall Townes of *Wangen* and *Ravensberg*, flee into *Bregenz*, *Lindau* on the *Bodensee*, was sorely now frighted: and the Army should have gone further to stop up the passages in the *Alps* of *Tirole*: to keepe the *Italian* Aydes out of *Germany*. The particulars of all which, I for brevity and want of eye-witnesses, here omit. He being now returned to *Ausburg*, hearing of this perfidiosnese of the *Friedbergers*; sends the very next day, (Friday *July* the sixth) to reprise the Towne againe. The gates are blowne open; and the *Bavarians* cut in pieces: just as they had done to seventie *Swedish* in the Towne, which were laid there, as the *Safeguards* of it. And to make the Townes-mens false-heartednesse, an example to the rest: the *Swedish* putting the women and children out of the towne burnt it quite downe to ashes.

By this time is Duke *Bernard* returned from *Ehingen*, against these people of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*s. Comming neare *Landstberg*, the Citizens, fearing to be served like those

of

of Friedberg, meete and present their Keyes unto the Duke: on their knees begging their liues of him. The same doe they of Schonga: the Leopoldis^t still voyding the countrey before his comming. They still retiring vp the Lechs side, to Rosshaupen; there, the Dukes men were too quicke for them: for lighting thereabouts upon two troopes of Dragooneers, and one of Carabines; the Weymaris^t killed some thirty of them, and rowted the rest into Fueffen. At the heeles of them, the Duke now followes; and his summons to the and recovering Towne being refused, he presently carries it by Petards and of townes from Scaladoes. Here were 1500. men of Altringers old Regi- ment, in garrison: 300. of which being in the heate of slau-
Duke Bernards
defeating of
the Leopoldis
Forces.
ster, cut off: the rest flung downe their Armes, and gave up their names to serve under the Dukes Ensignes. Here was Altringers brother in law taken, with the Lord of Diederick-stein, and other Officers. Here the Duke passing over the Lech; surprises three Forts betwixt the Townes of Eruberg in the mountaines, and Rentte upon the river Lech: into which, the Duke having put good garrisons; returnes his Army over the Lech againe, and advances towards Donawert.

This was about the 24. of July: by which time there had a new command come to Banier and him, to haften towards Norimberg. And they were by this time at indifferent good leisure. Now had Banier recovered Munchen, and chased Cratz out of the Countrey: and now too, had Duke Ber-nard well cleared the Lech of the Leopoldis^t: So that leaving the countrey well garrison'd, and Sir Patrick Rathven to guard the rest; they now begin to draw together towards Donawert: and so to march into the Bishopricke of Aich-
The State they
left Bavaria in.
stet, and by that, into Franconia.

In the beginning of our August, the two Generalls put themselves upon their march: going first unto Weissenburg, 20. English miles North of Donawert. Cratz knew his old Quarter: and hereabouts, and at Wilsburg Castle (hard by Weissenburg) offered he to make some opposition. But this

* Either for not came to so little, * that other writings make no mention doing enough it. Now were *Banier* and Duke *Bernard*, with 30 English here, or in *Bavaria*, did this *Cratz* (I heare) fall into *Wahlen*. they were not strong enough, to have marched thorow the *Steins* displeasurc: for which he was (as I have heard) im-priloned. This is sure, that after this time, I have read of nothing done by *Cratz*, but by *Fugger*, *Altringer*, and *Monte Cuculi*.

other *Swedish* Armies in *Franconia*. The way they tooke, was along the Forrest in which *Guntzenhausen* standeth. Thence advancing to the North-ward; they come to *Rosenburg*; and so by *Kregling*, to *Rotingen*: their Army *August 14.* meeting with the Chancellors and the rest, besides *Vffenhaim*, as Page 32, we have before told you.

With *Baniers* Army, came there a noble young Gentleman of our Nation, one Master *William Harvey*, onely Son to the Lord *Harvey*: who now upon his retурne from a three yeeres travell, in *Ierosalem*, *Constantinople*, *Italy*, &c. meeting with the Armies: had a generous ambition to see the action at *Norimberg*, where hee heard so famous a King to be engaged.

They ioyne
with *Oxenstiern*.

Munday *August 13.* did *Oxenstierns* Army passe *Kitzing* bridge, and that night, peect in with Duke *William*. *Augus-14.* came Duke *Bernard* and *Banier* to them. *Augus-15.* they marcht but 2. English miles: whence the next day to *Nenschat* on the *Aisch*. The *Walsteiners* that had before taken up all the Posts and Passages of this countrey, retyred still before them, towards their *Generalissimo*. *August 17.* The *Swedish* encamped not farre from *Hertzog-Aurach*; which the K. for their commodity, had t'other day made himselfe Master of. *Aug. 18.* they advance to *Bruck*, 10. miles North of *Norimberg*: where the small river *Aurach*, falls into the *Redniz*. On the Westerne side of which river, (the towne standing on the East) the Armies entrench for 2. or 3. dayes: building up Batteries and Redoubts, in this neerenesse of the enemy.

There may be
an error of a
day or twoes
time, in the
Journals of
these Armies.

enemy. Hither came the King himselfe, and overviewed the Army, as it was drawne up into *Battaglia*, which he found to be 26000. marching men, all fresh and lusty. They were 12. Brigades of Foote, besides commanded Muskettiers: but of the Horse I have no certainty. The Imperialists having here broken downe the bridge, the King causeth it to be repaired: over which, *August* the 20. in the evening, the Army marched: entrenching the same night before *Bruck*. Now were 3. Regiments sent over to take up the passage at *Furt*: which were the *English*, the *Blue*, and the *Greene* Regiments: who there entrenching themselves; Major-Generall *Kriphausen* came to command over them.

A solemne day of prayer being had in the *Swedish* Leaguer, for the happy ioyning, and good successe of the Armies: the King quitting his Trenches about *Norimberg*, came the 21. Altogether ioyning with the King, before *Walentincis*: advancing to meeke him: ioyned both Armies together, about 12. or one a clocke the selfe same Tuesday. All then being drawne up into *Battaglia*, before the enemies Trenches; stood there all that day, to make a Brave upon him.

And thus have I concluded this long digression, for bringing up of all the Kings forces to him: which if the Readers censure, for too long an interruption from the Kings Story, I must, in stead of answering, craue a faire pardon of them: And yet to say something towards a Reason. Besides that it had beeene pitty to have lost all their Stories: I knew not on the sudden, how to drop all these Armies, out of the cloudes into the Kings Leaguer; nor how, bluntly, and all at once, to shoothe them in an Engine, as farre as *Norimberg*. And therefore have I brought them, faire and softly, upon their feete all the way, out of their severall Stations.

Now was the King resolved, to bring the whole cause, to a day of hearing: and that as loud, as the Cannons could roare it. He was now full 46000. men in field; though not all then in *Battaglia*. The King of *Bohemia*, (by this time well

The fight
described
August 21.

The Swedish Intelligencer.

well recovered of his Leaguer-sicknesse) was in the field with him : both the Kings being desirous to tempt the enemy out of his Campe, into faire Campagna; fully purpoled, if that offer were refused, to set upon him in his Trenches. And so might they, if they pleased : *Walenstein* would not budge a foote, out of his Quarters. On the *Norimberg* side of his Trenches, therefore, the King cast up three great Batteries ; and from thence plaid incessantly into *Walensteins*, Quartiers : he thundering as furiously upon them againe. The *Swediſh* Muskettiers going neerer the Trenches, were with small shot answereed from them againe : but neither small nor great shot, did much harme upon one another ; saving onely that Generall *Banier*, going too neere to view a worke, received a Musket bullet in the left arme above the elbow, where it was left sticking.

August 21.

The next day, the King caused some greater Peeces of Ordnance to be mounted upon his Batteries: some of which, shot 21. pound ball, and some 42. *Walenstein* answereing with fome, that shot 48. These roared upon one another for a great time together : but the Kings plainly, did little spoyle upon the enemies. The *Walſteiners* wisely withdrew themselves, out the *beate* and *raking* of the *Swediſh* Ordnance : which were (after the making of 700. shot) perceived, to doe more execution on the earth and trees, then upon the enemies. Now was it with perspective glasseſ to be discerned, from off the Kings Batteries, that there was scarce a *Walſteiner* to be ſene stirring : For this reaſon : the King cauſeth his Ordnance to be difmounted : not willing to ſmoake away ſo much powder in ſquibs ; nor to doe no more then plowe up the ground, with the grazing of ſo many bulleſ, of that weight and height, merely ſhot off at an empty randome. Yet one ſhot let me not omit, because the King made it. The King (as tis written) ſpying in the morning, with his Perspective from one of his Batteries, a gallant Cavalier mounted and prancing before his Companies : that surely (ſaith the King) ſhould be either *Walenſtein* or *Alſtringer*; and have

at

at him. Causing therefore a peece to be traversed and bent full upon him ; the King tooke his levell , and bade *gisse fire* to it. Up into the aire flew the Cavalier, horse and man: but it proved to be but a Colonell.

The King having dismounted his owne Cannon, and given order to have the *Norimbergers* drawne out into the Trenches about the Towne ; he that day and the next, pases the most part of his Army over the river *Rednitz* , a little above *Furt*, before named. His purpose in it was, to posseſſe himſelfe of a certaine hill thereby : by advantage whereof hee hoped assuredly, either to batter out, or beat out, the enemy from his Quarters. This done, the 24. of our August (being Saint *Bartholomewes* day) was resolued upon for the generall onſet. The same 23. of *August*, fell there out a skirmiſh on the further ſide of the *Rednitz*, betwixt the *Crabats* and the Kings people : at which, whileſt, amongſt other Gentlemen Maſter *William Harvey* (before named) was deſirous to be preſent; he was moſt unforunatelly drowned , in paſſing ouer the river. A Gentleman hee was, who might one day haue merited a place in our owne *Chronicles*; for few young Sparkes were there among the Nobility of any Nation, either finelier made up, more genteily bred, or more compleatly improved. Nor is this more then a moderate *Laudative* of him; for ſo ſay they, that could iudge him. Very great, therefore, is the loſſe of ſuch a Sonne, to his honourable Parents: but greater will be the want of ſuch as he, to his Native Country.

Walckenſtein perceiving the Kings intention, he the better to affiſſe his Cannon and Ammunition, retired himſelfe into the Forest called *Altemberg*: which belongeth unto the Marquesse of *Onſpacb*. Here could he make uſe, likewiſe, of a certaine old Fortrefſe, which had beeene a Lodge, or ſome ſuch like thing) in the younger dayes of it. Here, likewiſe, did he very ſtrongly entrench himſelfe, and barricadoed up all the wayes, by cutting downe the trees round about him. The hill was high, and very ſteepc: cragge withall, and bushie;

bushie ; so that it was an impossible thing (almost) to be taken from an enemy, that had any courage to dispute it. The Duke of *Bavariaes* Quarters (as it hapned) were at that time neerest to the King and the danger : and among his men, the Cannon bullets mostly lighted.

The great fight
August 24.

Bartholmew day being come, the worke was begun with *Prayers*, for the happy successe of it. So the King of *Sweden* still used : nor thought he himselfe either *arm'd* or *valiant*, till he had prayed. That morning, about nine a clocke, was there a certaine Footman or Lackey of *Altringers*, brought prisoner to the King : who, (as by pregnant circumstances was afterwards collected) had beeene purposely exposed by the enemy, to be taken prisoner by us. This flye fellow very confidently informed the King : How that the most part of *Walensteins* Horse, had already forsaken their Quarters, and were about to runne quite away from the Leaguer. The King, indeed, from this higher ground, saw the Army in motion : but it was not to runne away from their Colours, but with all speed to possest themselues of the little mountaine and old Castle, and another Fort upon it: which it had beeene easie otherwise for the King to haue taken, and from thence to have beaten *Bavaria*, first, and then *Walenstein*, out of their Leaguers.

The King by and by perceiving their intention, and againe observing the great advantage of the place: resolved, (which some thinke hee had not, untill this newes of *Altringers* Footman) that notwithstanding the enemy had prevented him in it; and had now made the action more desperate: yet that it must immediately bee set upon. Putting his Army, therefore, into Battaglia, (as well as the place would give leave) the King himselfe led on the *Vant-guard* of the left Wing: Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar* had the honour of the Battell, to cloase up the Kings right hand : and Duke *Bernard*, with the *Landgrave of Hessen*, brought up the Reere. Some of these troopes, were sent to fall on upon that ruinous old Castle of *Altemberg*, on the hill aforesaid.

The

The other part, were still left at the bottome of the Hill, and upon the sides of it : to lye in ambusche amongst the trees and bushes there, to keepe off the Aides and Seconds of the enemy ; and to shrowd themselves withall, from the fury of the enemies Cannon. This place also served for a Retreat unto their fellowes, should they chance to be overlayed : the men,besides, being there neere at hand, to be sent for upon occasion. The place,indeed,was naturally fit for such a purpose: for it was a hollow over-hanging in the hils side; where they lay in a Covert from any offence of the enemy. The order of the Assaule was to this purpose : Every Colonel and Commander was assignd to his Post ; 500 men were ordered to fall on : which were every two hours releueued, with fresh Seconds. These were commanded Muskettiers all ; drawne out of the severall *Brigades* : and the Colours staid with the rest, below the mountaine.

And now began the conflict, for the winning and defending of that old Castle ; which proved a medlyc of 10 hours long, on both sides. Many a brave Gentleman, here lost his life;many a Cavalier was here wounded : and not a few taken prisoners. The King led on his men, with his sword drawne in his hand : and the *Swedes*, as if to show the enemy how little they dreaded any thing, that they could doe unto them ; and how much they despised danger : exposed themselves, all naked, unto the enemies shot ; having not so much as any one Trench or Earth cast up, to shelter them. In this equipege, runne they close unto the enemies Works and Batteries : stoutly and manfully, fall they on upon them : and with the courage of undaunted spirits, doe they rush into the danger. But the Imperialists as full of resolution , made a most stout resistance unto the *Swedes*. For having the advantage, both of the higher ground, of their owne Trenches and Batteries,already before hand there cast up : and having the wals of the old Castle to retreat unto , and to shelter their fresh supplies in : they maintained it with extremitie of confidence. The naturall high standing of the place, gave them all

the adyantages, that the providence of an enemy could have fore-thought of. Thence directed they their peeces with more ayme and certaintie, thence fell the Partisans which they darted, with more weight upon the *Swedish*: and behind their owne *Parapet*s they stood more then halfe covered, from those on the lower ground: so that more of the *Swedish* bullets, light upon the Imperialists *Brest-work*s then into their *Breasts*.

But notwithstanding all these inconveniences, the *Swedish* continued desperate, and the Imperialists as obstinate. The Cannons and Muskets went off all day long, incessantly: so that nothing was to be seen upon the Mountaine, but flame and smoake: and for the roaring of the Ordnance, the skrikes and groanings of wounded and dying man, could hardly be discemmed. All this was performed with so much terrour and fury, and on both sides maintained with so much obstinacy: that (considering the disadvantages on the *Swedish* side) the Battels of *Prague* or *Leipsich*, were not to be compared to it. Regiment attacked Regiment, one Ensigne continued flying against another: untill the greater part of the Foot on both sides, were throughly engaged in the medleye. The Imperialists had 6000 men, then upon the Hill; for the guard of it, and of the old Castle: those, still supplyed from the Campe: and all, so fenced with a *Brest-work*, behind which they stood to shooote downe; that nothing but their heads could be seen over it. Thus at length, the *Swedes* seeing no good to be done upon it; were enforced to quit the danger: the most of them withdrawing themselves, unto the foot of the Mountaine. The Cannon continued their volleys above, still; and some Muskettiers were there left, to maintaine the skirmish.

In this attempt upon the hill, whereas the King and Duke *Bernard* had faine on upon severall places of it: it chanced that Duke *Bernards* proved far the more convenient: and that he had gotten the height of the enemies Campe, and could see downe into it. He sending the King word of it, His Majesty dispatched

dispatched backe Sir John Hepburn to him, to take, and bring a view of it. Whilst Duke Bernard and Sir John Hepburn were at their view ; there was a Ritt-master shot dead, hard by them : which shewed, that the place was not altogether so safe, as was hoped. Sir John Hepburn having carreyed the King word, that it was much the better place ; His Majestie himselfe came to see it. Which done, you have reason (sayes hee to Sir John) for what you say : but yet if I give on here, I must doe it with my grosse of Foot; whereby I shall leave my Horse and my Cannon naked : and the enemy, withall, may then choose where he will fight with mee ; either in this or that place, or in both together, as he pleases. This passage, I learned from the right valiant Knight, here mentioned : and that the presentnesse of the Kings iudgement, was approved in it. And this I adde of my selfe ; something to controll the rumour of it that raine over Germany , that if the King would but have descended from his obstinaey, and thought it no dishonour to give over at the other Post, and to follow Duke Bernards counsell ; that the action had beene then ended, and the enemy dislodged.

Most of the Swedes being come downe to the plaine (as is aforesaid) there began another encounter. The enemies Curiassiers then issuing out upon the Swedish Muskettiers, did so much there overlay them ; that they forced them to give ground from them. Colonell Torenson , and Colonell Erick Hand ; being to maintaine this Post ; were both here taken ; and the latter wounded, by the Curiassiers ; whilst they bravely endeavoured to make their Muskettiers to give on againe, upon the enemy. The valiant Baron of Cromberg with his Regiment of 12 Comets of Horse (esteemed the flower of the Army) at that time, falling out , was rencomtred by Colonel * Stolbiansfe with 200 of his Finnijs Horse-men : who so well entertained the Crombergers, that they put them to the rowts : yea, and so faire pursued them, till they came under the command of the Shot from the enemies rath-

* This Colonel Stolbiansfe, (a Finlander by nation) was sometimes servante unto Sir Patricke Ruthven : and hee speakes excellent good English.

piers, and that other troopes of fresh Horse, fallyed out upon them. It was beleaved among the *Swedes*, that *Cronenberg* was there mortally wounded : but besides, that I have since read of him in other actions ; he was seene by some Gentlemen of our owne Nation in the Imperiall Leaguer , a day or two after.

It hath by others beene related to mee , That whereas the Count of *Erpach* (a Colonell of the Kings) was that day mortally wounded upon the place , and carryed off spoyled ; the King meeting Sir *John Hepburn* in the Field: desired him to make good the Count of *Erpacos* Post ; which hee performed.

The night beginning now to approach, rist of necessarie put an end to that skirmish : and yet it appeared by the eagernessse of the *Swedes*, that they had not yet enough of it. Still they continued to ply their small and great shot, and to offer to skale the mountaine , and rampiers of the enemies. The same resolutenesse , was also maintained by the Imperialists : the defendants budging not a foot from their Stations , and nothing behind hand with the Assaylants. But that great Moderator and Sticler in all long encounters, (the Night) was faine at last to decide the controversie. And so began both sides, to fall off one from another, having lost their sights, rather than their courages. And thus was there a *true drawne Battell* made of it: for the darknesse being but a blind *Vmpire*, could not see to which party, to assigne the Victory. The *Swedes*, indeed, lost their *hopes*; and the Imperialists kept their ground. The *Swedes*, for all their magnanimous undertakings , could not drive the Imperialists to the retreat ; or beat up their Quarters : nor could they , much lesse , compell the Kings forces to give it over. The Horse, (except, some few troopes) could not come to fight ; the wood and hill not suffering them to encounter : which had they done, needs must the businesse have had a further progresse.

The whole night after , did those Muskettiers that were left upon the hill, continue to give fire upon those that defen-

ded

ded the old Castle. It prooved a very wet night : and the King lay in his Coach, under heavens open Canopy. There was a fire made hard by him, upon the wet earth ; (which the raine suffered not well to borne) about which the Kings servants and Officers, tooke up souldiers lodgings : Sir *John Hepburn* being also laid amongst them. The King by break of day wakening, (and being very cold and wet) called unto his servants, to know if there were any of his Officers of the Field amongst them. They told him none but Sir *John Hepburn* ; who was but a Voluntier at that present. Him, now, the King defird to goe to those Muskettiers on the hill, and to view their posture : and to see, withall, whither there might be any neare place discovered, where there might be Ordnance planted to batter upon the old Castle. He going, found how these poore soules, lay all open to the enemies shot, from the waist upwards ; and that the Imperialists had two places of Covert, one above another, for their shelter : that is to say, one above, upon the hill, and another *Parapet* or *Breast-worke*, lower ; whence they let ffe upon the *Swedes*. He there found, where by casting up a little earth, the Kings people might approach within fiftie paces of the Castle, and mount fourre peeces of Cannon to batter upon it.

Sir *John Hepburn* had order also at his going from the King, to go call Duke *Bernard* to him, and in the mean time to command his troopes. Hee comming from his view, met Duke *Bernard*, and did his mesfage to him : who told him, that he shold not need to goe to his troopes, for that he had left them with the Count of *Ifsenburg*. The Duke also requested of Sir *John*, that whilst he went to the King, he would doe him the fauour to goe and bring his brother Duke *William*, unto his Maiestie. But Duke *William* was gone to the King before ; so that when Sir *John Hepburn* returned to the Coach, he perceiued, that they with some great personages, having beeene in counsell together, Whither it were best to retreat or not? the Retreat had beeene agreed upon. Thus when Sir *John Hepburn* reported to the King, how neare to

the Castle he might bring fourre Canons : I had rather (saies the King), there could have beeene a place found within 300. paces, then within 50 : which would be ffer for my people. Hercupon was order given for the retreat , and to draw off the Muskettiers , who came running off presently. And thus much of the passages of this morning , have I learned from the courtesie of this Noble Wartior. The most of the rest had I out of a long *Lasine Letter*, written by the Baron

* The Letter
was written un-
to his Brother
Sir Benedict
Skute, then in
London: who
imparted it un-
to me. They are
Sonnes unto
the Lord Skute,
Governour of
Lavonia for the
Crown of Swe-
den; three times
Ambassadour
into England.

* of Dandref, then present in the action: & from a *High Dutch Relation*, written by an vnderstanding Officer of the Army.

And indeed it was high time for the King to *sound the retreat*: and much better had it beeene , that a *Charge* had never beeene sounded. It was almost an impossible thing , to get up that mountaine : and Sir John Hepburn (amongst others) freely advised the King the day before, That the action was not faisible. And by thistime it was made much harder. The Imperialists against this morning, had brought on more great Peeces upon their Batteries : which must sorely have disordered the *Swedish*, in their advancing. The mountaine, Castle, and Fort, were all by this time better'd mann'd then the day before: and the Imperialists being extreameinly encouraged, that the irrefititable *Swedish* Armies, had not already overcome them , were sufficently now provided to entertaine them. But the King having attempted thus much, chiefly to put a *Brave* upon *Walenftein*: began now to thinkne of the mens lives, that were to be cast away upon it. So that having experiance by this time , that the enemy being likely to dispute it, would certaintely kill and spoile him more men, then possibly hee could doe of theirs : thought it no great wisedome, to consume too much time , where there was but small appearance of getting over-much honour.

Order is therefore given, to have the Ordnance taken off their Batteries, and that the Muskettiers, yet in action, as also those, that had beeene laid in ambush, below the hill: together with those Horse-troopes, which stood ready at all assayes, to waste upon the motions of the enemy, shoud come away.

And

And this was the order of the *Retreat*. The *Rorre* marcht off, first of all : and whilst they turne faces about to goe homewards, the *Van* and *Battell* stood their ground, as ready to receive the enemy. When the *Rorre* was come to their place of *Stand*, they there made *Halt*, facing about againe to the *Retreat*.
The order of
the enemy. Whilst they stood, the *Battell* marched: obser-
ving in all points, the order and discipline of the *Rorre*. When
they make a *Stand*, the *Van* advances: the *Wing* of Horse, a-
fore spoken of, at the same time moving and flancking them.
Three hundred Muskettiers, with some Comets of Horse,
were left behind to *manns* the *Rorre*, and to make good the
Retreat: in case the enemy (which he did not) should have
fallie out upon them. And in this goodly order and equipage,
(which was a very beautifull sight to behold) was the *Re-
treat* made: all done in *Battaglia*, as if they had even then
advanced into the *Field*, to have charged the enemy. Soone
was the Army in their new Quarters, which were not farre
from the foresaid mountaines.

For now was the King resolved, to entrench himselfe close unto the enemy; choosing the place for his new Leaguer, neere unto *Farts*, iust without the Forrest: yea so neere unto *Walemfins* trenches, that some one of his greater Peeces, would have rang'd her bullet even to the very Quarter. Early The King en-
campeth hard by the Imperi-
alistis.
the next morning *August 26.* was the new Campe begunne to be fortified; that is, upon the open side of it: the backe-part being sufficienly assur'd by the woods. And now might the *Generalissimo* (if he pleased) have done as much for the King, as he had attempted upon his trenches. These had beeene his advantages. His Leaguer was already fortified: but the Kings W orks not perfected, for some dayes after. Hee, out his higher ground, might overlooke the Kings Quarters, and see every motion in it. The Kings Campe was in a faire *Camps-
agnia*, and therefore accessible: nor was there any thing in the way, to have hindred the Imperialists; from falling into the *Swedish* Leaguer.

Two or three dayes after the end of the great renounter, were

were the prisoners and dead, on both sides, ransomed and exchanged. *Monsieur de La Grange* the French Ambassador, was sent from the King, into the enemies Leaguer : who returned with many prisoners : telling his Majesty of many things likewise, unto the hearing whereof but few were admitted. *Major-Generall Sparre* was not only set at liberty by the King, but employed also by him unto *Walenstein*, with the prisoners. He made likewise some generall overtures of a peace : in which he had desired of the King, that he might use his owne liberty. In lieu of *Major Sparre*, was Colonel *Leonard Tortenson*, Generall of the Kings Artillery, set at liberty by the *Generalissimo*: and that with a great complement to the King; as we have before told you. As for Colonell *Erich-Hand* (a Swede) he was to stay in the Imperiall Leaguer, till his wounds were cured. In the Bill of the prisoners, that was sent from the Imperialists unto the King: were there many names read, whose persons were no where to be found among the Captives: by which they were given for dead.

In this former Action, were these men of account slaine on the Kings side. The Count of *Erpach*, who died of his wounds: *Generall-Major Boetius*, a brave man: and Lieutenant Colonell *Sceper*. Of Duke *Williams* men, slaine; Lieutenant-Colonell *Mackin*. Under the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, slaine, Rit-master *Maurice* of *Malsburg*, with Rit-master *Craifham*, brother to the Marshall of his Maiesties Houshold. Of the English and Scottish, divers: whose names I have not.

Divers other Captaines, Lieftenants, Ensignes, and other inferior Officers, there lost their liues; with 7. or 800. common souldiers: none of whole bodies, fell into the hands of the enemies. There was found sticking in the body of one of his Maiesties Guards, a bullet of three pound weight. Wounded on the Kings side, the Counts of *Eberstein*, *Cassel*, and *Thurne*: with *Erich-Hand*, *Rottstein* and *Bourt*, all Colonells: together with divers other Captaines, Rit-masters, and other Officers. Of common souldiers, were there

The Prisoners,

dead,

and wounded
on the Kings
side.

there some 1500. which were brought into the Hospitals of Norimberg.

On the Imperiall side, lost, 3 Ensignes. Slaine, the Lord *James Fugger*, Colonell of 1000. *Cavalliers, or Men at Armes*. This Lord being deadly wounded and brought prisoner into *Norimberg*; there expired. He being demanded what he knew of *Walensteins* intentions; answered(as some report it) that he meant to keep himselfe in the gward hee then lay at, and to wage battell no otherwise then in that posture. But some other report this way of his last words, That calling for drinke, he shold say tis no time to dissemble now; *Walenstein* will assault you: Which said, he dranke, and dyed. Said to be slaine besides, Colonell *Aldobrandino*, Colonell *Dom Maria de Caraffa*: with 5. Colonels more: though some Gentlemen of our Nation, passing next day thorow the Campe; affirmed that they spake with some of them. These things must bee knowne from the prisoners, who being about 60, in number, perchance knew not all: the Imperialists having wit enough to conceale their owne losses. Those of the *Swedes* side reported it from the prisoners, that there shold have beeene slaine about 1000. *Walsteiners*: which (upon such disadvantages in the fight) I thinke not to be likely. The Corps of the dead Lord *Fugger* being sent into the Imperiall Leaguer, the souldiers that carried him, had 25 Dollars given them.

My Dutch Officer reports me a pretty story of a complement (or an allegiance, rather) betwixt an humble bullet, and the K. namely, how that a piece of the sole of his Majesties boote, neere unto the great toe of his right foot, was carryed away with a Shot. This bullet knew his duty: for a King should be toucht no higher: all are to stoope thither. Both he and the *Swedes* Lords Letter agree, that the Imperiall *Generalsiffmo* had his Horse that day shot dead under him: whereas others (then in the action) bid me be confident, That *Walenstein* all that day, stirred not so farre out of his Pavilion. Sure it is, that Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar* had a horse slaine

The Swedish Intelligencer.

under him: and that his behaviour all that fight, was beyond all expectation, valiant. *Walensteins* (tis written) having false notice brought him in the heate of the fight, that the old Castle was taken; answered with an oath, That hee would not beleeve that there was a God in Heaven, if that Castle could possibly be taken from him. This the prisoners reported. And thus have I finisched, this most memorable conflict. Turne we to other actions of lesse moment, done neere the Leaguer.

The King not able either to dislodge *Walenstein*, nor to bring him into *Campagnia*: cast about, in the next place, how to put another Brave upon him: the same, too, that *Walenstein* first put upon him; to defeate him (namely) of his victuals. Having therefore learned by the prisoners, that the provisions for the Imperiall Leaguers, (since the burning of their Magazine of *Fryenstat*) were either brought from *Bavaria*; or from *Newmarck* in the *Upper Palatinate*: resolves now to way-lay their convoyes, in both places. Towards *Bavaria*, is Colonell *Sperrner* sent: with 4000 or 5000 men, to lye in the wind about *Weissenburg*; and to have an eye towards *Nordlingen*; both to the South-West of *Weissenburg*. The King having now learned out, that there were a many Wagonsof provision, about *Newmarckt* in the *Upper Palatinate*, 20 miles from *Norimberg*: thitherward, with all speede, dispatches he a strong Partee of 3000 Hōrse, for the cutting off of this Convoy; which hee had heard was presently to come into the Imperiall Leaguer. But the *Swedes* failed of their desire: *Walenstein* having taken good order, to have his Convoy well assured. Himselfe (tis reported) was gone out with some troopes: which the *Swedes* Partee encountering withall, misst but little of taking the *Generalissimo* himselfe prisoner. His Page was taken, hard by him; who reported, how that his Lord himselfe, was glad to retire into the wood. This report went over *Germany*: but yet I hold *Walenstein* with the wifest, to adventure so great a part of the world, in his owne person.

Now

The King labouuring to cut off *Walensteins* victuals,

sends out his Partees to *Weissenburg*,

and
Newmarckt.

Walenstein in danger to be taken.

Now were the warres, made altogether by commanded Partees: whose sending out, was chiefly to get victuals and forage for themselves; and to defeate one another of it. The *Crabats* were the onely men, for such a purpose; they acknowledge no 8th Commandement: for *Stealing*, is one of the great uses of them, in the Army. These *Crabats* being lodg'd in a Castle, some 7 or 8 miles from *Norimberg*: would familiarly latche you up, 2 or 300 Horses and Wagons in a day; and yet play halfe of it. These fellowes, punisht the King shrewdly: nor could his men be ever wary enough of them. They flye out as farre as *Altorff*, a towne and *Universitie* of the *Norimbergers*, 15 English miles East of the Citie. Here light they upon the poore Schollers; and as well they Some Actions might have rob'd the *Spittle*: *Agricola*, *Nefter*, and *Bruno*, with the *Crabats*. Professours there, they carried away: and put poore *Genua* and *Species*, to their ransome.

A little after this, did the King employ Lieutenant-Colonell *Cratzenstein* with some troopes of Cavalry, to lay out for these mad *Crabats*. *Cratzenstein* had advice brought him, that they were now out towards *Newmarcke*. Thitherward makes he. Being come as farre as *Pelling*, within three English miles of *Newmarcke*, a knave-Boore of the Towne, (one of their Receivers) spurres *Cat*, and rides and tels the *Crabats* of it: who having a gift(they need no Spell for the matter) when they are like to be over-matcht, to make themselves invisible, plaid now lefft in sight, and ranne away towards *Altorff*. After goes *Cratzenstein*, but thence were they gone also. Having in this towne rested his people, awhile, he advances towards *Castell*, a towne upon an hill with a rich Monastery at it, upon the river *Lauteraab*, 12 or 13 English miles East of *Altorff*. Here lights he upon two reverend *Jesuites*, one of which, willing to save himselfe by getting out at a window, missest some footing or stayer of the ladder (it seemes) brake his necke with the fall: and so, *per saltum*, tooke his *Degrees backward*: the other *Father* (but of how many, is a quare) being carried to *Norimberg*:

became a ranſome for the Profeffors of *Aitorff*. Hard by *Castell*, but neerer to *Pfaffenhoien*: is there a pretty Castle, where a Cornet of *Crabats* were enquaſtered. *Crazenſtein* now forcing the place, cuts moſt of the *Crabats* in pieces; carried away their Liefenant-Colonell with the Houſe-ke-erer of the Castle, prisoners: ſetting divers of the Kings ſouldiers at liberty; which the *Crabats* there held in durance. This done, *Crazenſtein* returns to *Norimberg*, with his booty and his prisoners.

All this ſucceeded well to him; the next encounter, he came not off with, ſo fairely. Fleſhed with this ſuccesſe, he would needs out againe towards *Sulzbach*, thirtie English miles East of *Norimberg*. Encountering with no prize in that desolated country: to *Hambach* he goes hard by *Amberg*, three or fourre miles more to the Eaſtward. The foremost of his people, there fell into an ambuſh of the *Wolfeiners*: who not diſcovering themſelves all at once, put the *Swediſh* in ſuch hopes of being ſtrong enough for them; that they engaged themſelves to buckle with them. Nor could they ſee their errour, till it was too late to recover it: for there lost they 80 of their fellowes; and he was the bravest man, that would tunne away to tell his Liefenant-Colonel.

In other places at the ſame time, were the Forages out on both ſides. A *Swediſh* Partee, ranging towards *Newmarkē*, chanc't upo a Cornet of *Crabats* of about 150 in the wooddy country betwixt *Rotenbach* and *Fencht*, 7 or 8 miles South of *Norimberg*. Falling roundly to it; the *Crabats* lost the odde 50. upon the place; and ſome of the reſt were in their flight ſo knockt down by the Boores of the Country (whom theſe arraſt Powlterers, had made their good friends) that but a few of them recovered to their garrison of *Newmarkē*. The *Crabats* from out of the League about this time, ſtealing over the river of *Rodnitz*; cut the throats of ſome *Swediſh* Sentinelſ, about *Furt*: cut in pieces Captaine *Fuchs*, and his whole company, almoſt, which had the gnard that night. At *Eybach*, one Dutch League South of *Norimberg*, there fell out

Divers skirmiſhes, among commandanted Partees.

out another skirmish: where after the exchange of some bullets, and the death of 40. men on both sides, the *Swedish* were faine to give it over: for that the Imperialists retyning themselves by degrees, towards their owne Quarters, (then close at hand) did but traine the *Swedish* into the danger.

A day or two after, the King himselfe would needs abroad, to discover the posture of the enemy: and it was much about the place of the last encounter. The King had some choise Lads, along with him; some of which scowring the coast before him, discovered by and by, a good Squadron of Imperiall Horsemen. The King bade charge; and the *Walsteiners* made at them againe: so that there fell out some rude brushing betweene them. At last, every man of the *Swedish* being as good as two, where the King was one: the *Walsteiners* went by the worst of it: 150. men were laid dead upon the place; divers prisoners left behind them: and the rest ranne away as hastily towards their Leaguer, as if they did it to carry newes, that they had seene the King of *Sweden*.

A little after this, a strong Partee of *Crabats*, cut short some *Swedish* Foragers; even as they had almost recovered to their Leaguer by *Furt.* 200. horses and Wagons, they took from them, and made the Foragers glad to goe home, without that, which they had laboured for. Thence gae the *Crabats* to *Lauff.* 2. leagues East of *Norimberg*: putting themselves there into ambush to entrap some *Swedish* Convoyes. It chanc't, that a good company of wagons and laden horses, passed by shortly after, from about *Rosenberg*. 4 miles to the North of *Lauff*. The *Crabats* falling out upon the Booty, cut in pieces both the Wagon-driuers, and their guard: and vouchsafing to turne Carters themselves, they drive the Wagons towards *Engelthal*. It hapned, that there were divers *Bidders* or Saddle-horses, of some of the Kings owne Gentlemen, that went *lier*, by; now sent for from grasse, and comming towards the Leaguer with this Convoye, for that the King was about remooving.

The King goes
out upon a
Partee.

Gentlemen hearing, how likely they were to serve on foote; petitioned the King for a speciall Partee to make out after these *Crabats*, that had unhorst them. The King himself would needs do his Gentlemen the service, to goe out with the Partee: who rightly guessing at their haunt, advances towards the same *Engelthall*: whereabouts (as lucke was) he then found them. Here kills he 100. upon the place; recovers all the Wagons, and his mens horses: with some other pillage besides, which the *Crabats* had there hoarded vp, into the bargaine.

The King de-
feates some
Crabats.

The King having an item, alittle after this, of 20. Cornets of Imperiall horse, that purposed to goe from *Forcheim*, to spoyle *Grefenberg*, a towne of the *Norimbergers*, some 18. miles North of the City: goes with the King of *Bohemia*, to have a course at these Imperialists. But they having notice of it, had no desire to stay and kisse the 2. Kings hands: but recommended their safeties, to their spurres, and escaped by good Horseman-ship.

The King presently upon this, had a designe, to have put Duke *Bernard*, with a good part of his, and *Baniers* Army; into, and about the towne of *Liechtenau*, (not farre from *Onspach*) which belonged unto the *Norimbergers*. *Walenstein*, (as we told you in the beginning) had offered before at the taking of this towne; but had beeene put besides it. It was kept by one *Scheverlin*, a *Patries* or City-Gentleman of *Norimberg*. His feare now fore-dooming, that because the King had not beeene able to dislodge *Walenstein*, that therefore hee was too weake for him: delivers over his trust unto the enemies of his Country; when as no apparent, but a suspected necessity, drew it from him. The losse of this towne and Passe, shrewdly defeated the Kings projects: helpt to make him, what *Scheverlin* had suspected him; the unabler to remoove *Walenstein*. For now, besides the victualls found in the towne; *Walenstein*s other provisions out of those parts, came the freelyer into his Leaguer: the most of which, the King might have cut off, could he but haue formed an Army thereabouts.

Walenstein gets
Leichtenau.

Other

Other smaller bickerings betwene commanded Partees of both Armies, I purposely omit: for that these petty particulars, doe lesse concerne a generall history. And now the King perceiving that all these slighter encounters, would not doe the great businesse; and that it now proved true, which had so often beene confessed to him: namely, that *Walenstein* most firmly was with himselfe resolute, to tyre him out with the expectation of a Battell; and that he would upon no other termes accept of the encounter, then such as with extremity of disadvantage, hee should be enforced unto: judges it his best course, to leave the sullen or temporising General, in the fastnesse of his Trenches, seeing he would not be trained unto a Field-Battell. For point of action and honour, the King conceived himselfe to be before-hand with his adversary: seeing he had so often bidden him base at his owne gole; and that the Lyon-couchant would not out of his Denne, no further then he were rowfed. Carefull, besides this, of the State of the good City of *Norimberg*, his Maiesty was: which his late encreased Army had overcharged: his sicke men, and dead horses, both pestered and infected. His owne Army began apace likewise, to diminish: he had lost (at least) 10. or 12000. horses, (I have heard more) the rest, for want of forage being likely enough to follow. His men, withall, grew thinner every day and thinner: for what with those that had beene slaine with the sword, or dead of the fluxe and other diseases; and what with those that were wounded, taken prisoners, or had runne away, he misled full 10000. of his old Army. His Quarters grew very nastie and noysome, with the multitudes of dead horses, which lay where they fell, vnburied. The rest of his Army, wanted ayting and refreshing: no enemy being so terrible to brave spirits, or so weakening to able bodies, as the long lying in one place, and the ordinary diseases, of a Winter-Leaguer. Refolved likewise he was, to doe as much for the Imperialists, as they had done for him: to cut off, namely, their provisions from them: and that part of it, especially

The Kings rea-
sons for his
rising from a-
bout *Norimberg*

especially, with which their Leaguer had beeene served, out of the Bishopricke of *Aichfet*. His Partees hee resolved should flie abroad, every where, for the same purpose: his Army he was minded to encrease, with new levies: and with them, to fall into some of the Emperors or *Catholike-Leaguers* lands; and so to force up *Walenstein*, by a diversion.

Some have disputed it with themselves, Whither the King shold not have done better for himselfe, to have risen long before this? so soone, namely, as he was made able to get away, by the comming of the Chancellor to him with the other Armies. Then surely, had he saved a great sort of men and horses; and sooner had He gone, sooner must the *Generalissimo* have dislodged.

When the matter was put to be decided upon a Carpet, Whither it were best for the King to rise or no? The chiefe hinderance of the resolution was, the Kings care for the safetie of the *Norimbergers*: who were indeed very fearefull of themselues, that so soone as He were gone, they should be besieged. But in that care, the King was eased by his Major *Kniphausen*: who offered it upon the forfeiture of his head, to keepe the towne with 4000. men, in despight of all the enemies. The King taking him at his word, sent him into the towne to propose the conditions unto the Magistrates, and to know what they would do in it. The conditions were, That they should give Quarter and stipends, unto the Souldiours, left for the guard of them: That they should take downe the old great Leaguer, and contract it; so as with 4000. men, it might be made defensible. The Magistrates, though something fearefull, at first; yet so well did *Kniphausen*'s arguments content them, that they came out to treate with the King about it. He told them, that they shd. safelie relye upon *Kniphausen*, he had, upon his knowledge, fought in a village: and he knew he wold doe much more, in so well a fortified City. His Maiesy, besides, told them, That he wold leave his Chancellor with them: whose perfon hee wold not adventure, but upon a place that he put confidence

How the King
contented the
Norimbergers,
concerning his
rising.

dence in. As for besieging of their towne, that (he assured them) was not at all to be feared : the enemy, he knew, was too wise, at that time of yeere to set him downe before such a towne ; and especially in the neerenesse of a royall Army, which had so often fought to fight with him. These arguments, and the seale of the Kings royall word to them ; passed for securitie with the Burgers. And so the rising was concluded upon : and two dayes before, order given for it : whereupon the sicke and wounded men were sent into *Norimberg* : where a many sicke could not be relieved, but starved in the streets.

The next day to this, was the seventh of September ; the famous Anniversary of the great victory of *Leipsich* : which was ordered to be kept *Festival* by most solemne *Thankes-givings*, both within the Citié and in the Kings Leaguer.

The piety of the day being over-pased, and Generall-Major *Kniphäsen* having 3000. men (iii stand of 4000.) left with him for the defence of the Trenches and *Norimberg*: *Læbelfinger* being the ancient Colonel of the City forces; and Colonell *Slammersdorff* put into him : the King resolveth upon dislodging. Before his rising, I read that hee sent out Duke *Bernard*, to take in *Schwabach*, 8 miles South of *Norimberg* : both to give the *Norimbergers* a little more aire, and something withall, to trouble *Walenstein*'s Convoyes out of the Bishopricke of *Aichsfet*. Some talke of *Rot* and *Carlsburg*, and other townes, then likewise taken about *Norimberg* : but I cannot perceive, why the King should trouble himselfe in taking in these small Strengthes, seeing He most certainly concluded, that *Walenstein* would not lye long after His going. This of *Rot* and *Schwabach* I have but out of *Le Soldat Suédois*; whom singly, I credit not.

Saterday September 8th. the Kings Army dislodgeth. The King rises. King marcht by, and almost round about, the Imperiall Leaguer, in faire order of Battell: with Colours flying, Drummes beating, and every way as if they had beeene ready for the encounter. And *Walenstein* knew, as well as themselves, what

the Royalists were now about : this was the day, that he had long look't for. So farre therefore, was he from disturbing of them, that he called in his owne Guards and Sentinels; and still kept himselfe within his Trenches. That night, lay the Kings Army at a small Dorp : and the next day September 9th. with safety arrived at *Neufstat* upon the * *Aisch* in the Marquiseate of *Onspach*, 20 English miles to the North-West of *Norimberg*. Here lay the whole Army, September 13. on which, the King removes it from *Neufstat*, unto *Winbaim*, upon the same river of *Aisch*, 14 miles South of *Neufstat*.

and arrives at
Neufstat.
* So called for
distinctions
fake : for that
there is another
Neufstat in this
Franconia, upon
the river *Stray*,
hard by *Konig*
shoven.

About this time, came the Deputies of *Franckford* unto the King: of whom hee now borrowed a great summe of money. In security hereof, his Majesty then empawned the Palace and Revenues, sometimes belonging unto the Master of the *Dutsch Order*: which (as wee told you Page 20 of our *Second Part*) lye in and about *Mergentheim* upon the river *Tamber* in *Franconia*. Hither also came the Ambassadors of the *Muskuite* and *Tartarians*: to offer the King their assistance to fall into *Polonia*: which he refused.

Here at *Winbaim*, the King getting notice of *Walensteins* being gone towards *Forcheim* upon the river *Main*; and of the Duke of *Bavariaes* keeping still with him : he layes the plot how either to divide the two Armies, or how to divert the seat of the warres, out of *Franconia* into *Bavaria*. For the King now iudging by their keeping together, that their plot was to see what He would doe : hee resolued to begin first ; and either to make a division, or a diversion. Two designs he might suspect that *Walenstein* now had : either to fall upon the townes of *Franconia*, which the King last yeere had conquered : or else to rush into the Duke of *Saxonyes* countrey, which He well knew, that *Walenstein* had vowed the spoyleing of.

The King de-
vides his Ar-
my.

For the prevention of both these, hee resolves upon the deviding of his owne Army : some whereof he would leave with Duke *Bernard* in *Franconia*, to observe *Walenstein*, and to guard the *Mainstreame* from him : and with the other halfe

halfe, himselfe resolved to march up into *Bavaria*. These Regiments, I am told, the King tooke along with him. Horse Regiments. 1. *Oem's* Regiment. 2. *Corviles*. 3. *Stolhanfes's*. 4. *Steinbocks*: 5. *Tysenhausens*: with some others that are in the Figure of the Battell of *Lutzen*; and were not with Duke *Bernard*. These might make some 3000 Horse: besides which, he had 300 of *Steinbocks* Dragoones: which and whilst Dragooners used now and then to ride with him, for the usual Guards of his Body. Of Foot-Regiments, these waited on him. First, Count *Neeles* with the *Life-guards*, 2. *Carl Harts* Regiment. 3. *Winckles*. All these, came also backe with him: besides which, there likewise went up some others, whom the King left in the Country, under the *Psal* *latine Christian* of *Birckenfels*: whose names I have not. With Duke *Bernard*, hee might leave about some 10, or 1200.

Those that He purposed for *Bavaria*; September 15. were sent Southward towards *Rotenburg*: himselfe also purposing to have gone along with them. This thought of His, was by a message from *Norimberg*, thus diverted. His Chancellour *Oxenstiern* sending him newes, of *Gallas* his besieging of *Lauff* with a Partee of 2000. men, and some 3 or 4 peeces of Ordnance: He resolves to relieve the Towne and coape with *Gallas*, if he would stay for him. Taking therefore 2000. well mounted horse, and 1500. Muskettiers along with him, (which were all commanded men, and chosen out of the whole Army) he goes with these towards *Norimberg*. Being come neere unto *Furt*, His Majesty was there met by Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, and Major-General *Kniphausen*, who inform'd him, that *Lauff* was already taken, and *Gallas* gone towards *Uitland* and *Bohemia*. The King, upon this newes, staying but one hour there, for the refreshing of his people; returned with all diligence, backe towards *Onsfach*; and so onwards to the rest of his Army, whom hee over-tooke at *Dunkelfpiel*, in the way towards *Donsawert*, and *Bavaria*.

The Swedish Intelligencer.

At this *Dunkelfpiel*, which is sixe leagues to the South of *Rotenburg*, did the maine body of his Army arrive, Friday *September 21*. His next Stage was at *Nordlingen*, 4 leagues further : where *Tilly*, last yeare, made his Winter-Quarter.

Hither came he upon Saterday *September 22*. The weeke before, had 4000, or 5000. *Switzers* (12000 some name) passedby this way towards *Donawert*, to be there conjoyned to the Kings Army. They were led by Colonell *Wormbrunt*: and their way was from *Schaffhousen* and *Dutling*; and so along the *Danuby*.

By this time had the Count *de Monte Cuculi*, with some of the Duke of *Bavariaes* people, (whom he found in the countrey) and some few *Florentines*, lately sent in from their Master the great Duke of *Tuskany*, to the ayde of the *Bavarian* laid siege to the towne of *Rain* upon the *Lech* in *Bavaria*, neare *Donawert*. Colonell *Mitzval*, whom the King had left Governor there, made not such good resistance, as was requisite. The towne, though not excellently, yet was it sufficiently fortisied. *Viftuals* and *Ammunition*, he wanted not : of men, he had 13 good Companies, Horse and Foote : which were hands enough to have made good the place, for a longer time, against a farre greater opposition. I read of no breach yet made; but one threatned, and prepared for, is not unlikely. Some write, that *Mitzval* was in the name of his Company, threatened by one of his Ancients, that if he would not yeld the towne, they would : but they that say so, cannot proove that *Mitzval* either punishit Ancient or soildiers, for the mutinie. Others affirme, that he had the consent of a Counsell of Warre, of all the Officers of his garrison for it : which had it beeene true, then would not the King have executed him for it. However, *September 25*. did *Mitzval* conclude upon rendring, the next day marching out with Bag and Baggage, and all good conditions for a soildier, though not of one. The King tooke off his head for it : and so would he have done of all the 8 Captaines of his Regiment, but that her Majesty the Queene of *Sweden* (who

*Monte-Cuculi
takes Rain in
Bavaria.*

(who was come all this expedition with her Lord) by the potency of a sweet and gracious intercession, prevailed with the King for a pardon for them.

The King now come to *Donaupert*, made all the hast possible, to relieve his towne and garrison in it, from *Monte-Cuculi*: but was not able to doe it on the sudden, for that the Towne was on the contrary side of the *Lech* to him. And it much concern'd him: for that by the taking of this towne, the Partees of Horse that should be lodged in it, would mightily disturbe the trading and other intercourse, betwixt *Ausburg* and *Norimberg*. Preparing, therefore, to recover it; bee advances towards *Oberendorff* upon the *Lech* (hard by *Kain*) where there is a house or Castle of the *Fuggers*: neere which, there was a bridge over the *Lech*, as Page 139. of our *Second Part*, we have told you.

This Castle, was guarded with 150 men: and for the breaking of the bridge on that side next unto the King, were there some 250. *Crabats* now come. These the King coming upon after they had burnt the bridge, but before they could get to *Rain* againe (where they should have beene taken over) he cuts the throats of all the 250 *Crabats*, together with the other 150. that were the guards of the Castle, and tooke seven Ensignes from them. Hereupon fell he to repairing the bridge. About the 27th. of *September*, was this done, and the Bridge-worke begun upon: which (strange it is) that *Monte-Cuculi* did little or nothing in the hinderance of. He was skated, perchance, by that wonderfull passage over the same *Lech*, which, the *April* before, the King had made: and how dearely it had cost *Tilly* to oppose it. He was now also taken off, by the distrust to his owne strength; and made, I beleive, the more hast to looke to *Ingolstas* and *Regensburg*, and to stay thereabouts for the Duke of *Bavariaes* comming, which was within 8. or 10. dayes after.

The King being, the second time, passed over the *Lech*: in a misty morning (one of the first dayes of *October*) comes before *Rain*, ere perchance he was discovered. The fight of

The King over-
throws 400
Crabats, &c.

and lays a
Bridge over
the *Lech*.

and besieges
Ratis.

Ratis yeelded
to the King.

The King go-
ing as farre as
Nenburg, to
pursue Monte-
Cuculi.

the towne, is low and plaine: on one side, fenced with the river and morassy hollow ground, not fit to be entrenched on. The other part, had the King, at his last parting from *Bavaria*, given order unto *Mitzvall*, to new fortifie. This is the East side of the towne; and upon that, was the King faine to make his Approaches. Foure hundred men, had *Monte-Cuculi* left within it: who, either for that *Mitzvall* had made the place heartlesse and unlucky; or for that the fame and fortune of the King, were so irresistible in *Bavaria*, as that it were but folly to stand out against him: they within two dayes, so soone as ever they had felt but a few peeces of Battery: send out to demand composition. But the King being angred for his *Mitzvall*s late dilgrace, would affoord no other termes unto the garrison, but for the Horsemen to goe out without either Horse or harness, and the Foot, like footmen; without other Armes, then their swords only.

And thus was the towne as easily recovered, as it had beeene lost: saving that the defendants, this last time, had the honour to be overcome by the King of Sweden. October the fift, the King caused *Mitzvall*, by a *Council of Warre* to be condemned; and the same day, in sight of the whole Army to be executed: establishing another Govermour within the towne; who needed no other schooling to looke better to his Lesson, then to see his Predecessour ryde the scaffold before him. This was done at *Nenburg*, some ten or cleuen miles Eastward upon the *Danuby*: whither the King had by this fift of *Oæober*, retired with his Army. Thus farre wasthe King come, to have pursued *Monte-Cuculi*; and (as 'twas beleev'd) to have besieged *Ingolstat*. But *Monte-Cuculi* finding himselfe too weake, was with his flying Army of 500 Horse, and 4000 Foot, retired along the *Danuby* unto *Regensburg*. Some troopes of horse, had the King sent off after *Monte-Cuculi*; and the Countrey was full of noyse, of the intended siege of *Ingolstat*. Divers peeces of Ordnance, were for that purpose already sent for out of *Ausburg* and *Donawert*, the Kings Commissaries and Quarter-

Quarter-masters, were already gone before that way-ward, to take up victuals and lodgings for the Army. Boats and other materials, were providing at *Newburg* to be sent downe the *Danaby* towards *Ingolstat*, to make Bridges. Provisions were also commanded to be ready at *Ulm*, for the victualling of the Leaguer: and young *Tilly* with his garrison of *Ingolstat*, (sorely of late, wafted with the pestilence) every day expected another plague of warres, to be comming towards him. Nor were these preparations, onely whisper'd of: but Art, perchance, made the rumour ring so much the louder, that *Walenstein* might likewise heare of it. But he either did not, or would not listen to it: nor could any noise from *Bavaria*, frighten him out of *Saxony*.

About these preparations, here at *Newburg*, was the King, till the eighth of *Ottober*: and was the next day provided for, to have beeene personally entertained in the City of *Azburg*. But this happynesse of his Presence, the *Azburgers* were defeated of: the King, the same day, being gone with all speed backe to *Nordlingen*.

The cause of this so sudden departure of his Maecty; was an expresse Packet that night received from his Chancellor: that *Walenstein* having quit *Franconia*, was now falling into *Waitland*, to undoe the Duke of *Saxony*. The King, therefore, knowing how earnestly the *Elector* had heretofore been pressed by Ambassages; feared, perchance, least the power of a vowed enemy, might by adding violence unto perswasion, shrewdly preuale to draw him off from the party: now resolvled to quit his former purposes for *Bavaria*, and to make hast with all speed, to deliver *Saxony*. And in this was the difference of tempers and good dispositions, betwixt the King and our *Generalissimo*, to be discovered. The King was first in *Bavaria*, and yet would not the Duke of *Fridland* for his friends sake, doe more then lend him his *Altringer*, with his, and *Coloredoes* Regiments; for the defence of his Countrey: but himselfe would not a foot out of his pace and march, for him. But the King, for his friend, on the other

is diverted by
the newes of
walenstein's fall-
ing into wait-
land.

other side; was not difficult to leave his former conquests in *Bavaria*, to the hazard of the now returning Duke, and to adventure his life to save *Saxony*. And yet, (to deale with the ingenuity of an *Historian*) there was something else in it too : for that *Walstein* by falling into *Misnia*, put faire for it, to have cut off the King, both from his friends in *Mecklenburg*, *Brandenburg*, and *Pomerania*; and from his retreat out of *Germany*.

whereupon, leav-
ing 1200.
men in *Bavaria*,
with the *Palatine Birckenfels*.

The King, therefore, now leaving as many of those *Switzers* that were newly come to him; and of some new levied Forces : besides so many of those which himselfe had lately brought up with him, as would make up those already in *Bavaria*, 1200. men Horse and Foot, under the command of the *Palatine Christian of Birckenfels*, for the guard of *Bavaria*: himselfe with the rest, goes backe againe towards *Norimberg*. Sir *Patrick Ruthven* Governor of *Ulm*, was now made Sergeant-Major-Generall unto *Birckenfels*, and Colonell *Strieff*, was constituted Lieutenant-Generall of the Horse to him. *Ausburg*, *Rain*, and *Donawert*, were left well provided : and so tooke the King his last leave of *Bavaria*.

he returns
with the rest to-
wards *Norim-
berg*.

His Majesty now leaving 17 Cornets of Horse, and all his three Regiments of Foot, to follow fairly after him : himselfe with a guard onely of some *Germane* Horse, and *Steinbocks* 300. Dragooneers, made all the hast he could, backe againe unto *Norimberg*.

Whilest the King was upon his way to *Norimberg*, had the Generall Major *Kniphausen*, besieged *Lauff*: which the King (we told you) before his going to *Bavaria*, was on the way to have reskewed. *Kniphausen* had 1600. Foot, and 200. *Norimbergers* Horse, with two peeces of Ordnance, before the towne ; and two dayes had he besieged it, before the Kings comming had beeene heard of. The third day, by a breach made with his two peeces, he tooke the towne : the garrison in it, retiring themselves into the Castle. Betwixt the towne and the Castle, was there a Bridge; which for hast they

Kniphausen be-
sieges *Lauff*.

they could not stay to burne or breake : but had onely torne up some of the joyces and timbers, and so left it. *Kniphausen* s men making shift to passe this bridge, came to a little gate of the Castle : which offering to force open ; the garrison presently yeelded up, without any other conditions, then at *Laufftakē*. mercy. The Governeur (a *Bohemian* by nation, and but Lieftenant-Captaine to a troope of Horse) remained prisoner ; with some 80. or 100. more of his sholdiers : all which were afterwards carried prisoners unto *Norimberg*.

Kniphausen now in possession of the Castle ; 7. *Bavarian* Horsemen (not knowing of it) came that night on the land-side, to the backe gate of the Castle, to give notice of Colonell *Munichs* comming with 12. troopes or 1000. Horse, and 300. Dragooneers, to the relief of it : desiring to speake with the Governeur, and to advise him to hold out the Castle. The *Swedish* Sentinel that tooke their mesage, had the wit to conceale the Castles being taken, and to goe and tell *Kniphausen* of it. *Kniphausen* presently sent the late Governeur to these 7. Horsemen : by some tricke, or other, to get them into the Castle. The Governeur being afraid to bee hang'd, as his Predecessour the *Norimbergers* Governeur had beeene, when *Gallas* tooke the Castle : durst not but doe his best to ingratiate himselfe with *Kniphausen*, and did indeed entice 3. of the 7. into the Castle. *Kniphausen* learning by these, of the *Bavarian* succours now comming to relieve the place ; had a plot also how to have gotten Colonell *Munich* himselfe into the pitfall. This was his stratageme. Hee A pretty Stra-causes some out of the Towne, to give false fire, all the tageme. night, against the Castles and others out of the Castle, against them againe; as if they had beeene still in skirmish. Twas 10. a clocke next morning, ere *Munich* came, by which time having notice of the taking of the Castle, hee did but show himselfe before it : after an houre retyring himselfe backe againe. Hee being gone, *Kniphausen* returned unto *Norimberg*.

The day of the taking of the Castle, (which was Fryday

I

Otōber

The King being returned to
Norimberg.

goes out upon
a Partee :

and leaving
Kniphausen to
take in *Hersch-*
bruck:

himself sur-
prises and de-
feates *Munich*,
in his Quar-
ters.

October 21.) did the King arrive at *Norimberg*: the very next day being desirous to goe out upon a Partee. His men were these 700 commanded Horse, and 300 Dragooneers, led by Colonell *Stenbock* (a Swede) which had beene his guards hitherto, out of *Bavaria*. The King now going out, meets *Kniphausen* comming home ; and of him hee learned, which way Colonell *Munich* was retired : which was first to *Hersbruck*, and so towards *Felden*. The King thereupon commanded *Kniphausen* to turne backe againe with him after the *Bavarians* : for (saies He) Ile not goe home againe without doing something. The Kings march lay by *Herschbruck*, a good walled towne of the *Norimbergers*, which *Gallas* had alio taken in. There the King left *Kniphausen*, with his owne men and two peeces, to reprise it ; which he did, within an houre after the Kings going.

The King pursuing *Munich* by the tracke ; light upon some of his people, as they were resting themselves at *Schlüs-*
gen, and another village, hard by *Felden*. Many of these were *Crabats* ; whom the King had the killing of 300. upon the place ; with the taking of some 2. Cornets, and divers prisoneers. The King having caused the villages they were enquarterred in, to be first surrownded, and then fired ; had the knocking of them downe, as they start out to have escaped. Some Relations tell mee of 600. *Bavarians*, that should be enquarterred in a village betwixt *Altfeld* and *Eismansberg*, a little East of *Herschbruck*, who should have come out of *Reichelßwang* Castle : and were of those that should have relieved *Lauff*. And these (tis said) the King at one a clocke at night falling upon ; cut off a great many, tooke 50. prisoneers of them ; the rest saving themselves in *Rosenberg*. But I suppose both these, to have bin but one action ; for that the taking of 2 Colours is mentioned in each of them : and then I am sure, the first relation is the truer ; for that it was told me by a very understanding Gentleman , at the same time with *Kniphausen*, (and very familiar with him) in the Actions both of *Norimberg*, *Lauff* and *Herschbruck*. This done,

done, the King October 15. betwixt 5. and 6. in the evening, returned againe into *Norimberg*.

And thus the King having once againe cleared all the townes of the Jurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*, and unblockt the City: immediately resolues upon returning to the rest of his Army in *Franconia*, and so thorow *Duringen* into *Saxony*. And for that himselfe was likely to have more use of his forces against *Walenstein*, then any employment the *Norimbergers* had for them : he takes with him those 3. Foote-Regiments of *Kniphauzen*, *Gerstorff* and *Rosse*; which at his first going to *Newstat* hee had sent unto the City for their safeguards. These Regiments, with those other 3. that were following out of *Bavaria*, might make up some 6000. compleate: and about that number of Foote, had Duke *Bernard* in his Army. Both together, might make up some 6500. Horse. And this was the Kings whole strength, (and after the largest reckoning too) in the day of the great Battell of *Lutzen*.

The King October 17. taking his last leave of the *Norimbergers*, goes himselfe with *Steinbocks* old Convoy; to follow Duke *Bernards* Army: his owne men, both those that came out of *Bavaria*, and thole that were now drawne out of *Norimberg*; following as fast as they could, after. October 19. the King came to *Kitzing* upon the *Mайн*, 40. English miles, to the North-West of *Norimberg*. Here his Queene then was; who thence went towards *Wurzburg*: whence after a few daies, She came unto *Erfurt*; being gotten thither, before the Kings comming.

And here having mentioned Duke *Bernard* and his Army: let us now goe backe a little (in the meane time that the Kings owne Army is upon their march, this way-ward) to tell how he passed away the time, ever since the Kings going from him into *Bavaria*.

The King (as we told you) parted from him about September 15: who charge to Duke *Bernard* was, To observe the motions of the Imperiall Generalissimo; and well to guard

So that having
vnbloct *No-*
rimberg.

He goes to-
wards Duke
Bernards Army.

the Imperiall towne of *Schwinfurt*, with all the rest upon the *Mayn-streams*, from him. For this purpose, had the King left him an Army of some 9000. or 10000 men: or at least, so many they were voyced for.

This young Duke, some dayes after the Kings going; remooves from *Winstain* first of all, unto *Kitzing* upon the *Mayn*: where he staid 6. or 7. dayes. That is, towards the very end of *September*. Thence advances he to *Wurzburg*; where the Army staid 7. or 8. dayes, being enquartered in the Suburbs. Thence goes he to a Dorp within halfe an houres going of *Schwinfurt*: where hee was 3. or 4. dayes more. About 9. or 10. a clocke the last of these nights, the Army had sudden order to remoove to *Schwinfurt*, and quartered there under the very walles of the towne. The occasion of this remoovall was; for that the Imperiallits having some Horse Partees abroad, were likely enough to affront this their open Quarter. Here staid Duke *Bernard* but one day: remooving the next towards *Konigshoven*, and enquartering short of it. Some fortnight before this time, had *Dubzell* with his Dragooneers, beene sent into *Coburg Castle*: as in *Walensteins* proceedings wee shall after tell yon. The *Soldat Suedois* reports, that Duke *Bernard* before this time should have defeated 40. troopes of *Crabats*, under the command of *Isolani* their Colonell Generall, and chieftest Commander of their Nation. But of this airy defeate; those Gentlemen of our Nation, all this time with Duke *Bernard* knew nothing: nor doe I beleeve Duke *Bernard* to have then beeene strong enough in Horse, to have beaten *Isolani*, with 40. of his Cornets: which could not bee leſſe then 3000. But to returne.

From *Konigshoven*, went Duke *Bernard* unto *Hilperhaſen*, and enquartered short of it. And now might hee doe what he pleased in the countrey: for that *Walenstein* was a weeke the 10. dayes since, gone quite out of *Franconia* into *Woitland*. From *Hilperhaſen*, goe they unto *Schleſsing*: Quartering by it: and hither came the King to them. The King

King himselfe, I meane, attended on by *Steinbock* and his Guards onely, his Army being still behind, upon their march towards him. This was about October 21: so that in 14. dayes hee had marched from *Bavaria* into *Duringen*: and stayed three at *Norimberg*. The next day, the King cashiered the *English*, and *Scottis* Regiments; and that by reason of the extreme weakeenesse of the Companies. These being thus made *Reformadoes*, were ordered by the King to waite upon his owne person: he promising them good Quarters, and to preferre them. Thence went the King with Duke *Bernard*s Army, thorow the *Duringer-Wald* the next day, unto *Arnstat*, 9. *English* miles further, and in the County of *Duringen*. And here staid he 6. dayes, that is till his other Army was October 27. come vp to him. That day, went the Chancellor *Oxenstiern* backe from the King towards *Franckford*, to order things thereabouts, and in the *Palatinate*.

Simon and *Iudes* day, October 28. whilst the conioyned Army advanced before, towards *Erfurt*, iust 8. *English* miles North of *Arnstat*: the King staying behind a while, wrote his last letters unto the King of *Bohemia*: which letters are in the hands of many Gentleman. About an *English* mile without *Erfurt*, in a very faire Campagnia, was the whole Army drawne up into Battaglia: the King taking a view of every *Brigade*; and appointing their place and orders to each of them. Now were divers Regiments reduced into one *Brigade*, being too weake each of them, to have stood by themselues against an enemy. The whole Army was found to be about 13000. Foote and 6500. Horse, indifferent compleatly.

Hither the same afternoone, came 4. of the chiefe of *Erfurt*, to invite his Maiesty into their City: for thither was his Queene the same day arrived. The King answered, that though he had much to say unto their Magistrates, yet knew hee not how his leisure would serve him to come among them. He that writes this, was one of the 4. that now were

comes to Duke
Bernard.

His numbers.

Lodges in
Erfurt.

the Kings awiters: who affirme, that the Kings words were so gracious, that he could not without shedding of teares, repeate them. Towards night the King came; alighting from his horse, before Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar*'s lodging: who having a long time laine there sicke, the King now went to give a visit unto. Returning thence, he went on horse-backe, to his owne lodging: before which, upon the Market place, he was received by his Queene and her Ladies. His Maiesty leading his Queene up the staires into her owne Chamber, returned quickly into his owne: where a great many of intercepted letters were presented unto him. These having scarce perused, he was called out to Supper; Duke *Ernest of Saxon-Weymar* being entertained with the King and Queene, at the same table: Duke *Bernard* that night feasting *Kmphausen* and some other Lords, at his owne lodging: Scarcely halfe an houre, had the King beeene at the table, but that he rose, and went to his ownelodging.

Having spent a great part of the night in dispatches; giving order for letters, and sending away of Posts: he rose againe in the morning very early. Having broken his fast and taken his (last) leave of his Queene; hee then gave audience to the City Magistrates, who there waited for it. To their speech, did the King himselfe returne a long, and very pleasing answere: of which, these were the last words. *You know, that in humane affaires, there is no constaney; and that for our sinnes sake, the warres, of all things else, are most uncertaine. Some mischance or other, may soone fall out, concerning my person: which if God Almighty pleases so to have, let me earnestly now desire you to continue fasshfull unto my deare Consort; doe, as becomes honest and upright men: and so I heartily pray to God, to blesse and preserue you.* Thus having said; leaving the hearers all in teares, he tooke horse, and followed after his Army. And these passages of the Kings, would I not omit; for that every word and action, so neere his end, may well deserve to be Chronicled.

The Kings
speech to those
of Erfurt.

The Count of *Pappenheim* some few dayes before this, had beeene

beene hanckering thereabouts, in his march from about the *Wefer* towards *Misnia*: and certainly, had not the King made this extremity of haste to *Arnstar*, *Pappenheims* would have troubled *Erfurt*. Word having beene now brought the King, of his late being at *Bulstet* in this *Duringen*, 12. English miles to the North-East of *Erfurt*: the King had sent away Duke *Bernard* with 1000. Horse, to fall upon *Pappenheims* Reere-guard. But Duke *Bernard* came too late: *Pappenheim* had already hastned along thorow the County of *Frieburg*, there passed the river *Sala*; and conioyned with *Walenstein* about *Mersburg*.

Duke *Bernard*
sent out after
Pappenheim.

The Kings Army following after, Quartered the first night in a little *Fleck*, or Market towne, 3. Dutch miles from *Erfurt*. The second day, it advanc't much about the same proportion: and the 3. day it arriv'd at *Naumburg* on the East banke of the river *Sala*, which parteth *Duringen* from *Misnia*. This comes to was November the first 1632. *Sylo veteri*.

Naumburg.

The King had notice in the way, how that Felt-Marshall Lieutenant *Holck* (for this new Title was devised for him, upon the comming of Felt-Marshall *Pappenheim*, into the Generalissimo's Army) had demanded of the towne of *Naumburg*, the rest of that money which they had last yeere promis'd, (and not fully paid) to the Generall *Tilly*, to be spared from being plundered: and that *Holck* withall, had sent in 36. Muskettiers to lye there, in the name of a Safeguard for the Towne. His Maiesty upon this intelligence, had dis-
patched Colonel *Brandifstein* away before hand, with a Par-
tee of Muskettiers to recover the Towne againe: for that his Maiesty now purposed, to make his Quarters at it. *Brandifstein* the last of *October*, (very early in the morning) presenting himselfe before the *Othmars* Port, demands in the Kings name to have it opened to him. The Sentinels made him answer, that they would informe the Magistrates first of it. But *Brandifstein* never purposing to stay their answer, claps a Petard to the Gate and breakes it all to pieces. Hee was scarce well settled in the Towne, but about 9. in the fore-
noone,

Brandifstein sent
by the King, to
take *Naumburg*.

noone, comes there a Squadron of 600. Imp. Horse, to have Quartered themselves within the City : but hearing of the Swedish Harbingers being there before them; they turn'd bridle againe, and went to informe their *Generalissimo*. The next day about noone, came the King himselfe into the Towne: his Army passing by the Bridge over the River *Sala*: which marching before the Gate called *Saint James's*, their Quarters were laid out for them upon the high-wayes, that leade to *Zeitz* and *Leipsicb*. The weather was very cold now; so that the most of the Army, lay within the walls of the towne: though every man could not get a Billet, for good Quarter in it.

The Townes-men of *Naumburg* were not onely glad, but secure; so soone as ever they had the King of *Sweden* amongst them: even as confident, as if they had seene their *Tutelar Deity*, or that their *Angell-guardian* had beeene come to their protection. This carnall confidence of an over-joyed people, the good King having by reflection applyed to himselfe: hee became (cleane contrary to *Herod's* humor) the more humbled by it. And desiring, withall, to make the same impression in the people, which hee felt within himselfe; for that it had beeene too vnciuill to have chidden the men for their good wills to him: he thought upon this handsome way of preaching it into them, in the prelence of his owne *Preacher*. The seconde of November, therefore, calling his *Chaplaine of Honour*, *Doktor Fabritius* unto him; Mr. *Doktor* (saies the King) *Our affaires are in a very towardly condition at this present; every thing going on, as well as our hearts can desire. But I feare, I feare, that because every man doth so adore and honour mee, (even like a God, as it were,) that God Almighty will shwoerly punish me for it, at one time or other. But my God knoweth, that I take no delight in it; nor am I desirous of it. Now let be, as pleases God: This I know, that seeing the Action is for his owne glory, that He in his owne good time will blesse it with a most prosperous issue.*

A most religi-
ous speech of
the King of
Sweden.

To

To see how holy men can foredoome of their owne ends !
and that the words of dying men , very oftentimes have be-
comme Propheticall ! What could King *David* have said
more ? And now , whilst the King for some few dayes ,
gives rest unto his Army , and prepares for the great day of
Battell : let us (according to our methode , in our former
Bookes) goe backe a-while , to fetch up his great Ad-
versaries *Story* : and that from the time of their late par-
ting about *Norimberg* : till we have brought them into the
field together .

K

The



The Proceedings,

Of the Imperiall *Generalissimo* the Duke of *Fridland*. His discamping, dividing of his Army; owne Atchievements; and his joyning with *Holck*, *Gallas* and *Pappenheim*. All Historically led along from his rising from before *Norimberg*, untill the day of the Battell of *LVTZEN*.

Those two great Antagonists of our times, His Majestie of *Sweden*, and His Excellency the Duke of *Fridland*; were now become the publickest persons, of our *Christian* World: scarcely was there any one man, of all the affectionates to the Protestant Party, (that dealt for but 50. pounds a yeere) but the King of *Sweden*'s Proceedings, had some secret influence and activitie, upon himselfe and fortunes. For the Duke of *Fridland*; we first see, how much straining among the *Catholike* Party there had beene, to set him out; how many feares and hopes, did still depend upon his conduct; and what a weakenesse and emptinesse, there was in the whole Empire besides; all the time that the strength of

of it was under him, employed against the King of Sweden. Whilst all men were in expectation, what the *Norimberg* Leaguers would come unto, that mighty and waste body of the Empire, grew feebler still and feebler, in all the other parts of it : which, when *Walensein* gate at large, was by the succours sent out of his Army, jollily cherisht and nurst up againe.

So feeble was the Empire at home, even in its owne *Austria*; that it was neither able to kill, nor so much as to shake off, its owne vermine : (for no better were they at *Vienna* esteemed) those * mutinous Boores, I meane, which became troublesome in the *Ower*, *Ens* and upon the *Danaby*, in a popular Commotion. Every where abroad, had the *Swedish* Armies the better, and the Imperiall the worst of it. *Horn* was victorious in *Triers* and *Alsatia*, and had thence frigtedt out *Offa* and *Monte-Cuculi*. *Arnhem* and *Dubalz*, had utterly, almost, beaten downe all opposition in *Silesia*: and would have suddenly beene at very good lcsure, either to have converted their Armes upon *Bohemia*, or to have sent home forces enough, to have throwne *Holck* out of *Misnia*. There was little to doe about *Bavaria*, till that *Monte-Cuculi* had just now broken in againe. *Cratz* (falling into *Walenseins* displeasure, as I heare,) was sent away prisoner to *Vienna*: and in his absence, *Fugger* did but shuffle up and Rebels, downe, in those quarters. Duke *Julius Administrator* of *Wirtemberg*, and Sir *Patricke Ruthven* about *Ulm* and *Ower-land*, were still upon the getting hand in the *Circle of Schwaben*: there being no maine Army in the field, constantly, to oppose them thereabouts, but some few forces of the *Arch-Duke Leopolds*, and the Boores only. The Army under Generall *Wrangle* (with whom Sir *George Fleetwood* is, with his *English* Regiment) had a quiet Quarter of it, in *Prussia*: the *Pole*, (whom he was set but to observe) being busied now at home, about the election of their owne King, and in feare of the *Muskovite* from abroad. The *Swedish* garrisons about *Pomern* and *Mecklenburg*; wanted worke: and the *Spaniards*

* These Boores
rise not for Re-
ligion (they
were not Pro-
testants, all) but
by reason of the
new taxations.

And therefore
when they sent
to the King of
Sweden for
Leaders, he re-
fused them:
nobly (scorning
to conquer his
enemy by his
Rebels.)

The State of
the warres
abroad, when
the King and
Walensein par-
ted.

Walsteins Proceedings.

and the *Lorrayers*, were as good, at this time, as quite out-ted, all over *Germany*. Of all the Imperiall Generalls, was *Pappenheim* onely able to wagge: and he indeed, made a scambling kind of warre of it in the *Lower Saxony*: whom yet the Court of *Vienna* had desired, to ioyne with his *Generalissimo*.

And this was the constitution of the *Swedes* Armies, when the King and the Duke of *Fridland*, rose from about *Norimberg*: the Kings men, had either no action at all, or every where (but in the *lower Saxony*) the better of it. The same power (now) that had given them these advantages; would every day also have increased them: and the Imperiall Armies were brought to that passe, that they were every day in danger to be beaten: after which it was likely to be a long day, ere they would be re-enforced. This was one of the reasons, by which the Duke of *Fridland* used to excuse himself, from fighting it out with the King of *Sweden*: for (faith he) if my Army be overthrowne, the Emperor my Master can hardly (at least not this yeere) bring another Army into the Field: whereas the *Swedes* will quickely recreut their losses, by the emptyng of their garrisons. Iust the an-swer of a *Turkish* Captive, unto the *Christians*. The losse of an Armie to the *Grand Signior*, my Master, is but like the shaving of his beard, the bush will grow againe: but tis like the lopping off a limme, to the *Christians*; never to be recovered.

All this could hardly have beene avoided on the Imperiall party, could but the King of *Sweden* have laine long en-nough by it, to have made *Walstein* rise first: who might not then have devided his Army, to relieue other places (which thereupon must have suffered) but haue kept all his power together, out of the expectation to be foughten withall. But this, the Kings necessities before spoken of, prevented.

The Duke of *Fridlands* late comming unto *Norimberg*, was to coope up the King of *Sweden*: by which first act of his

walsteins
reasen for not
fighting.

his power, hee seem'd, at first hearing, to have gained this reputation unto his cause ; That he had, at least, put the King of Sweden to a Demurrer, if not utterly Non-suited him. For this service, was the *Generalissimo* (as he deserved) much courted and thanked from Vienna : his discreet conduct in it, extraordinarily applauded by his Master : yea and his authority (upon demand) by a new Imperiall Commission, strangely now augmented. The Kings necessities having brought him to it, That he must needs rise first, or lye still and doe nothing; *Walenstein* contented himselfe with this honour, That he had put him to these necessities.

The King being first marcht off, and *Walenstein* by his espials assured, that it was no plot in the King; no tricke to wheele about, and to assaile him in another quarter, but that he was alreadie set downe at *Newstas*, for the refreshing of his Armie : he, having no more to doe here, resolues also to be rising. This motion was much put forward by these and the like reas ons.

First, Should he lye long, other places must suffer : so that there was a present and a pressing necessitie for him to relieve ^{and his reas ons for it.} other places, with some of his forces. The Generall-Adjutant *Zinzendorff*, is therefore sent with 2. Regiments into *Austria*; to represe the Commotion of the Boores, there. *Gallas* is with 4. Regiments, dispatched thorow the *Upper Palatinate* into *Voiland*, to enable *Holck* to doe the more mischiefe there, and in *Misnia*: so to enforce the Duke of *Saxony*, to recall his Armie out of *Silesia*.

Secondly, he perceived his mightie waste Armie, to waste away apace. Some thousands had beene slaine; many dead, and runne away ; divers spoyl'd, and made unserviceable. The bloody Fluxe reigned mightily in his Leaguer : and the souldiers great complaint was, of an extraordinary want, both of Physicke and of Surgerie.

Thirdly, His Horfes (the pride and strength of his Armie, at his first comming) beganne now to die apace: of which he had at least 14. or 15 000. starved, & yet I speak much within

He rises :

compasse, of what I have heard. Their Carrion was very noysome unto the Quarters : and yet had his men taken better order, then the Kings people had, to carry away and bury them.

Fourthly, the Kings labour, he knew, to be one of these two: either to cut off his victuals and provisions from him; or else to fall into some friends country. If the King, now, should doe the first, then could not he lye long: and if the second, then would the King have gotten the start of him: either of these, had much crossed him: the greatnesse of his spirit being, to be of the active, fore-hand: to make the King of *Sweden* follow him ; and not he to follow the King of *Sweden*.

Fiftly, The Towne of *Norimberg*, though it had beene part of his errand for comming thither; yet besides that hee should be likely to loose his labour, in attacking a place so well prouided for resistance: hee did not thinke it Souldier-like done of him, to sit taking of one towne , whilst his enemy should be conquering of whole Countreys. For *Norimberg*, therefore, he tooke order to have it still blockt vp; by *Gallas* taking of *Lauff*, and taking other townes and passes about it: and for the rest, he would try Masteries with the King of *Sweden*, who should diuert one another.

Sixthly and lastly, he might doubt, That when the King of *Sweden* should haue well ayred, refreshed and recreated his Army ; and haue prouided himselfe of new Horfes : that hee were then likely enough to returne a-fresh vpon his Leaguer; and then either put him to fight, or starue by it.

Which of the two Armies, could then haue found the sharper swords, or the fuller *Bandeliers*; must now have beeene left vnto the tryall : but the *Walsteiners*, by having the stronger place of encamping, and the fuller snap-sacks, prevented their being put unto that tryall.

Wednesday, September 12th, was the day appointed for difcamping. Repairing the Bridge, therefore, over the river *Kednitz* a little North of *Furt*: hee there wafts over his whole Army : not halfe so great now, as when hee first came
to

Norimberg. Some writing tels mee, that *Walenseine's* re-mooval was by night : but in that (me thinks) his haughty spirit is much injured : he that upon a march, forbids to have the Ports shut where he Quarters : would neuer, I suppose, steele away by a darke lanterne. And that it was not in the darke, was visible enough at present: for the Souldiers not onely set fire upon their Huts and Quarters, at their rising, but upon the Countrey too. A hundred Dorps and houses, were now drest vp in flame, in the Marquisate of *Onspach*, and the Iurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*: as if to sacrifice to *Mars* or *Bellona*, with this Hecatomb. *Foule warres or no warres*, is a *Maxime* among some Souldiers, otherwise not cruelly minded : but *Walenstein* is not so well made up in this, for that his haughtiness wants an alloy or temperature of *pittie*, in it. The *Crabass*, sure, had done nothing extraordinarily worthy of a triumph : and yet could they not finde in their hearts to leaue the Countrey, without kindling of 100 Bonfires in it. Nor is this the first time, that *Walenstein* hath done so : but as if he this way affected, to bee called the *Thunder-bolt of Warre*; he nor goes nor comes, scarcely, but in *flames* and *flashing*, and in thus *imitated lightning*.

All the time that the Imperiall Army was marching by, the *Swedish* Forces in and before *Norimberg*, stood caute-
lously upon their guards : and the Army being a little past them, some troopes of Horse (as usually in such cases they will doe) fell out of the towne and Trenches, and exchanged a few bullets with their Reere, though little or nothing to the purpose. I omit the *Norimbergers* rifling of the for-saken Leaguer : where for want of Horses, the Imperialists had left an incredible world of Military luggage behnd them. This as it shewed how excellently well provided, *Walenstein* had come into the Field : so it was a kind of Injustice, to leave the *Norimbergers* something of good value behind him : to pay themselves withall, for the courtesie and cost, they should bestow upon the many maimed and sicke souldiers, which were there found a starvynge and a stinking. This

is the guise and fortune of the warres: nor can these who have beeene bred full tenderly have their mothers with them in the Leaguer, to looke to them. By these was the want discovered, which since the Kings going, was increasing every day more then other: and the reasons given (which we haue before pointed at) for Walensteins discamping.

The dividing
of the Imperi-
all Army,

Of *Gallas*, we
shall tell you
altogether, by
and by.

Walensteins
way,

A little beyond the City; is the Imperiall Armie devided. *Zinzendorff* (as we told you) is sent to *Austria*: and Generall-Major *Gallas* with part of the Armie, goes Eastward towards *Lauß*, two leagues from *Norimberg*; which having taken, with some other townes, to keepe the *Norimbergers* blockt up: he marches by the corner of *Bohemia*, into *Misnia*. The two Dukes of *Fridland* and *Bavaria*; turning fases about to the *left*; come the first night unto *Bruck*, ten English miles to the North of *Norimberg*, and sixe from *Furt*. The river of *Rednitz*, he still kept upon his left hand: which was a sure barricado on that side against the King of *Sweden*. *Walenstein* in deviding his Army, had this good consideration: that having sent away his two great Officers, *Holck* before, and *Gallas* now: yet it was but to the place where he meant to follow them; or could, if hee were put to it, prefently recall them. His meaning was, to undoe the Duke of *Saxony*: and thither had he sent these two. Himselfe advanc't now towards *Dwingon*: and thither was it agreed that *Pappenheim*, from the *Wefer*, should come and joyne with him. This was *Walensteins* happinesse, that the place marckt out for his revenge, lay so conveniently for him.

Numbers.

The numbers of his Armie, were not above twelve thousand (besides nine or ten thousand of the Duke of *Bavariae*) Foote, or fifteene thousand compleat marching men, (at the most) and nine or tenne thousand Horse: and so much had the King intelligence of. The rest of his sixtie thousand, had beeene kill'd, dead, runne away, sent other where, with *Holck*, *Gallas*, *Zinzendorff* and into *Bavaria*: put into garrisons in the *Upper Palatinate*: or left behind, sicke and maymed, in the

the Quarters : for certainly, both *Walensein* and the King, lost more for either of their parts, at this lingring Leaguer ; then the King and *Tilly* both, at the great Battell of *Leipsic*. *Walensein* at his first rising , had given order for the sending before of some of his greater Ordnance, unto *Forcheim* : for guarding whereof, hee supposed a small Convoy would be sufficient. Some *Swedish* Horse-Partees (as it chanced) were at that time gone abroad into the Bishopricke of *Bamberg* : who being by the Boores discovered unto *Walensein*; caused him to countermand his owne order , and to have his Ordnance, from thence-forth , to march with the grosse of his Army. Where the breadth of the way would suffer him, there he advanced in *Battaglia* : the Dragooneers with their Muskets, Shovels, and Mattocks, (with which they still ride) were ever sent before, to make good the Passe: and the *Cra-baars*, (being his nimblest Horse) were still left behind and last in the Quarters, to bring up the Reere of the Army. And in the souldierly wariness of this equipage , he marches unto *Forcheim* : for in the neerenesse of an active enemy, it much concerned him to be thus wary.

The Army being come to *Forcheim*; was there in a friends Countrey, and in good Quarter : and there I finde *Walensein* to have stayed about ten dayes or a Fortnight. Here had hee notice first given him, of the King of *Sweden*s going with halfe his Army towards *Bavaria* : and of Duke *Bernard*s staying with the other halfe , about the *Main-streame*. According to this intelligence , he now disposes of his Forces. The Duke of *Bavaria* , being most startled at it; desires to take leave of the *Generalissimo*, with his part of the Army : requesting that *Altringer* with his Regiment and *Coloredoes*, might goe along with him, for the direction of the *Milia*. The Duke of *Fridland* grants it ; and himselfe waiting (as he call'd it) upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, as farre as *Bamberg*: after a few dayes he takes leave of him, with much seeming courtesy and solemnitie. Courtiers enough, they were both of them : and both of them though high-spirited Princes, *Bavaria* parts
with *Walensein*,
wards.

Walensteins Proceedings.

yet so artfully commanding of their owne carriages ; that though each of them were concious, how much cause they had given one another to dissemble : yet with studied words and faces, did they full masterly controll all that stomacke and disrespect, by which they had thorowly, heretofore, enchafted one another. The Duke of *Fridland* seemed to have forgotten, that ever *Bavaria* had procured him to be cashiered from his Generallship, in the *Diete of Ratisbone*: and *Bavaria* gave the *Generalissimo* never a note in the Marget, how often (since the Leaguer) hee had beeне faine to waite, to get to speake with him. They are fellowes in Armes, from hence forward : they protested to serve one another, in all good offices ; and to seconde one another, upon all occasions. One thing was noted betweene them, in this vying of Complements : That *Walenstein* was not so supple and active in his cringes, as old *Bavaria*. But this, (what ever his great Spirit meant by it) he excused by his Gowte, and other his un-wieldinesies. Leaving therefore, *Bavaria* to his march, homewards : we will wholly apply our selves to our Title, which is *Walensteins Proceedings*.

Early, September 24. went the two Dukes with the greatest part of their Army, and 48. Pecces, from *Forcheim* towards *Bamberg* : which is 16. miles to the North of *Forcheim*; where the *Mayne* drinks up the *Rednitz*. September 27. He is still in and about *Bamberg*, and those Quarters : so that his lingring thereabouts gave a shrewd suspition, of a meaning he might have to the Imperiall City of *Schweinfurt*, which is seated upon the Northern banke of the *Mayne*, some 25. English miles to the West of *Bamberg*. Of this *Schweinfurt*, was the Sweditsh Colonell *Carl.Hart*, Gouvernour : who sending to *Claes Haffter*, Gouvernour of *Kongisboven*: 24. English miles to the North, and towards *Duringen* : did from him, about the 24. of September, receive some forces, for a strengthning. Much about the same time, had Colonell *Dubatell* (who still hath the command of a Regiment of Dragooneers) also marcht in thither, with 13. of his Companies.

Walenstein sus-
pected to have
a minde at
Schweinfurt;

panies. Duke *Bernard*, likewise, being by the King entrusted with this *Schweinfurt*; did presently upon this, advance thitherward.

All this appearance of resistance, caused the Imperiall Generalissimo (tis beleaved) to alter his determination for *Schweinfurt*: and now wholly to convert his Armes, against the Princes and Countries, of the two Electorall Families of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*.

Of this latter Family, was the neighbour Marquesse of *Bayreit*; uncle to young *Onstach*: whose Countrey for distinction from his Nephewes, is called the *Upper Marquiseate*. This Prince, is also Marquesse of *Culmbach*: and both these townes with their Iurisdictions, *Walenstein* now purposed to have a-bout with. From about *Bamberg*, therefore, in the end of the moneth; sends he some forces unto *Bayreit*, falling upon the Marquiseates of *Bayreit*, which some, write *Peyrit*:

43. English miles Eastward. The towne, they tooke without much opposition: the Burgers, for their peaces sake, consenting to give him 10000. dollars downe upon the naile, and hostages for as many more. *Kreuzitz*, a pretty towne of the Marquesses, some 6. English miles to the South of *Bayreit* (for what offence, I reade not) is given for pillage unto the souldiers: who have leave given them, to make up what pay the Generalissimo was behind hand with them upon an enemies Countrey.

Thence, goes the Army towards *Culmbach* towne; the ordinary residence of the Marquesse; 12. English miles to the North-West: neere which, the two originall streames of the river *Maine* (the Red and the White) doe in one bed make an alliance betwixt their Issues. This towne being farre stronger then *Bayreit*, had put it selfe into a posture of resistance. When as September 21. it had by *Walensteins* letters beeene summoned in the Emperours name, to be yeeded to him. In this if they obeyed not, he threatened fire and sword; to kill and burne all. The City suspecting his friendship to bee as pernicious to them, as his enmity; sends him the deniali. Hero- Being put from Culmbach.
upon his men now breaking into the countrey; to the full, per-

forme as much, as their *Generalissimo* had threatened. They sometimes also are bold to come neere the towne, and to give it summons: but these being answered by the Cannon, they finding themselves likely to get nothing here, but leaden and iron dollars; hote sent them out of the mint: content themselves to have burnt the Mills about the towne, and to have plundered the villages, and then to draw off their Army.

And now have at the House of *Saxony*: whose lands lye all the way from hence, to the very *Elb*. From *Culmbach*, therefore, goe they unto *Coburg*: 22. *English* miles to the North-West of *Culmbach*: and so farre due North of *Bamberg*. The towne and faire Castle here, belongeth unto the Duke of *Saxon-Coburg*, uncle unto the Dukes of *Saxon-Weymar*: and that was one of *Walensteins* quarrels to it. A second was, for that the Duke of *Saxon-Coburg*, with the Marquesse of *Culmbach*, had the 7. of *May* before; conjoynd their forces with the Swedish Colonell *Claus Haffer*: to make an Aenslaught upon the towne of *Cronach*, belonging unto the Bishop of *Bamberg*. This enterprise, though through the cowardise of the Boores employed upon it; it had miscarried; yet had it given a just occasion to an enemy, to be revenged of the affront-offerers. *Walenstein*, hereupon, presenting his grosse before the Towne; found not the same opposition here, which those of *Culmbach* had before made him. The Towne beeing thereupon entred: thorowly enoughe paid downe, for the ransome of its owne cowardise: and affoorded pay enough unto the souldiers; considering their small paines in taking of it. Here, were many a rich Packe and Bale of merchandise, made prize of: which having beene sent towards *Lepisick Mare*, by the Merchants of *Ausburg*, *Norimberg*, and other places: were just come into this towne, to be sent onwards, a night or 2. before that *Walenstein* came afore it. The Dukes Palace within the towne, fell also to the souldiers ransacking: which the Duke, (in the feare of an old man) having with too much haste forsaken

He takes the
townes of
Coburg.

saken : had there also left his household-stuffe , with a great part of his treasure. And this was done, in the very beginning of our October.

The towne being thus mastered, the Castle is next summoned: into which, a little before Walensteins comming; Dubatell having gotten from out of Schweinfurt : he now had the command of it. This strong Castle , stands upon a Rocke , without the towne ; but yet so neere , that it lookees downe into it. The noise of the Summons, is answered, by the thunder of the Cannon : which being lowdef then the sound of the Trumpet, would not let the offred conditions , to be hearkned unto. Walensteins Ordnance , therefore, are set to reply upon Dubatells Cannon : the Generalissimo having a great desire, to take Dubatell the second time; and Dubatell being as desirous to let the Generalissimo understand , that it was a disadvantage which he had before taken him upon. Walenstein (with much adoe) having shot a breach (two some say) in the lower part of the Castle wall; he about the 3. of October , prepares all things to give a generall assault upon it. Five hundred souldiers, thereupon, being commanded into the dry Graff or Moate of the Castle , clap to their scaling ladders,to storme it. A great Ravelin there was, which defended the Sally-port of the Castle : and that, whilst they attacked, their fellowes, from the townes side, with continued vollyes of small and great shot , entertained the besieged. Dubatell perceiving the intented Scaladoe , issus with his Dragooneers immediately out of the Castle, going downe the hill towards the skalers. Having with good diligence also , brough downe some new peeces of Ordnance unto a side-Worke which flanckered the Ravelin: he so skewers both it and the Moate at the same time : that a many of the assaillants, now already halfe way mounted , came fluttering downe headlong into the Moate, and their scaling ladders after them: The Imperiall Colonell that had the point in the assault , and led them on; was there shot thorow the head : and dyed in a ditch among his fellowes. A young Lord or Cavalier , of

and laying
siege to the
Castle,

is repulsed by
Dubatell.

Walensteins name and kinne , I find here to have beeene slaine also. Some make him to be knoockt downe by the Boores of *Voitland*, a little after this : but I rather consent to this wrinting, which gives him to be kild here; for that I reade his body to be with much solemnity, carried from the Campe thorow *Zwicka* in *Voitland*, to be enterred in his owne Lordship in *Bohemia*; something before that *Walenstein* was gotten into *Voitland*. But this is no great controversie.

Our *Generalissimo* perceiving the Castle to be strong, high situated, well provided , and the besieged resolued for defence ; he gave no more on upon it after this one repulse had beeene given him. But this was not all the reasoun, for the rasing of his siege : Duke *Bernard Weymar* was by this time come from *Schweinfurt* to *Konigshoven*, 17. miles due West of *Coburg*, and was thence marcht to *Hilperhausen*, upon the edge of the *Duringer-Waldt*, within 13. *Englisch* miles to the North-West of this *Coburg*. And he, (as *Walenstein* might

* One of these, suspect) though not strong enough to encounter him in the open field , yet was hee able enough to disturbe him at a siege : And this siege , above all the rest ; for that Duke *Bernard* is to be heire unto this Towne and Dukedom of *Coburg* , after the decease of * two of his old childlesse Vnckles.

Now had our *Generalissimo* a purpose , to have advanced further to the Northward , and to have pierced thorow , by the way of the *Duringer-Waldt* into *Duringen* : where *Pappenheim* was to have ioyned with him. But this designe was now defeated, by Duke *Bernards* putting himselfe iust before him: which was a very great piece of service. By this meanes, was the Castle of *Coburg* reskeued ; and the whole little Country of *Henneberg*, in which it is seated. Had *Walenstein* gone forward with his project : then had *Hilperhausen*, *Schleusing*, *Aischfels*, *Ilmenar*, and *Arnthat* , beeene taken by him. Then had all the Passes thorow the *Duringer-Waldt* , beeene blockt up by his people , which the King of *Sweden* must by maine force have againe opened , before ever hee could

By Duke Ber-
nards good
seruice.

could have come up to *Walenstein*. Then, in the meane time, would he and *Pappenheim*, have recovered *Erfurt*: with the townes about it: made himselfe master, of the whole *Landgraviate of Duriingen*; have over-runne the lands of the *Ducall*, (and sometimes *Electorall*) Family of *Saxon-Weymar*. Then had he, thorow that rich Country, beaten out his way into the *Elector of Saxonyes Misnia*: have wintered and enriched his Army in those Countries: and beene ready with the first of the next Spring, to have fallen into *Lusatia* and *Silesia*. Then would he have made himselfe master, of the river *Elb*: and so have cut off the King of *Sweden*s retreat, home againe. Then would *Walenstein* have cleared his (titulary) Dukedom of *Mecklenburg*: and hewen out himselfe a free passage, to his old Quarters in *Brandenburg* and *Pomerania*, and againe possessed himselfe, of the banks of the *Baltick Ocean*. And thus handsomely had our *Generalissimo* contrived it: the effecting of which project was worth the abandoning all the *lower Saxyony*, by the calling away of *Pappenheim* out of it: and in the highest degree concerned the King of *Sweden*, to make such hast out of *Bavaria*, to prevent it.

All the former part of this project, was now defeated by Duke *Bernard*: the taking, namely, of the *Landgraviate of Duriingen*, with the Dukedom of *Weymar*: as likewise the conioyning of *Pappenheim*, with his *Generalissimo*: which hee durst not after attempt to doe, till hee knew that *Walenstein* was faine by another way, into *Misnia*.

And thus was the Imperiall Generall enforced, not to raise his siege onely from before the Castle of *Coburg*: but to quit likewise his intended march thorow the rich, and (of late) un-plundered Countrey of *Thuringia*. Turning faces about therfore, to the right; (his sholdiers burning downe *Helberck*, *Newstat*, and other Dorps about *Coburg*) he marches directly by the towne of *Cromach*, into *Voitland*; which his owne ^{He falls into} *Holck* and *Gallas* with their Armies, had of late so foully ^{He falls into} *Voitland*. harryed.

Walensteins Proceedings.

harried. It was a deepe prepensed resolution in the *Generallissimo*, to pay the Elector of *Saxony*, to the purpose: he was once in a quandary, when as he had newly taken *Prague*; whether he shoulde first fall into *Saxony*, or come against the King of *Sweden*. And had not the King beene so neere him, at that very time, in such danger to have overthrowne the Duke of *Bavaria*, first; and then, in his absence, to have falle into *Böhemia*: he would, (no doubt) have first gone against the Elector of *Saxony*.

And now, at him he goes. The Elector of *Saxonyes* subjects, (the poore Boores of *Voitland*) perceiving this second tempest now comming upon them; revolve with themselves, that the best whood to beare off such foule weather, would be an head-piece. In great and confused numbers, therfore, gathering themselves together to be revenged: they with the best weapons, that a rusticall fury, could put into their hands; first turne feare into despaire, and that into desperatenesse: which instead of skill, order, and true valour, they made to serue their turnes against the invaders. Besetting the woods, therfore, and the bye-wayes; which the seeking for their lost Cowes, now and then, had heretofore made them perfect at: they *with as good a will as ever Boores gat Children*, knockt downe such rambling and plundering boote-halers, of the Imperiall Army, as they could singly light upon, and master. This is he that rid away with my horse, cryes one, downe with him: that fellow stole my 2. kyne, saies a second, cut the throat of him: and he, carried away all my wiues ducks tother day, cryes a third Boore, knocke him downe too. All the Quarter they would give the souldiers, was to quarter those whom they had killed, and to mangle those bodies, whom they had mawled: as if every blow they gave a dying souldier, had killed them another enemy; because it (in part) satisfied their revenge, by the acting of another cruelty. And here (saies some Relation) was the young *Walenstein* killed: of whom we before spake, in the action of *Coburg*. But the *Walsteiners* were even with the poore Boores for it,

if

if burnings, and rapes, and ravages, could cry quittance : for, sure, the warres seemed not here to be made by *enemies*, but <sup>Making foule
worke there :</sup> by *furies*.

The place of this Country of *Voistland*, is betwixt *Duringen*, *Franconia*, *Misnia* and *Bohemia*: and the reason that *Walenstein* did now enter into it, was partly, to beare all the country along before him ; and partly, to lay the seate of the warres in an enemies Countrey. And who can deny this, to have beene souldierly done of him ? But that hee had first commanded in *Holck* and *Gallas* into it ; and did now follow himselfe with fire and sword, in it : was not so much upon the barbarisme, or tyrannicall delight in blood and cruelty; but out of the terror of a military policy : that with the feare and horror to see his subjects so used, he might constraine the Duke of *Saxony* unto a sudden and disadvantageous composition ; with whom the courtships of repeated Ambassages from the Emperour, had not heretofore prevailed. And who need suspect the constancy of the Duke of *Saxony*, that chose rather to endure all this, then to breake his League with the *Protestant* Princes, and the King of *Sweden* ?

Our Generolissimoes first Rendezvous in this *Voistland*, was at *Plaun* upon the river *Elster* : downe whose streme, at the distance of 60. *English* miles to the Northward, *Leipsich* standeth. To this *Plaun* did the Imperiall Vantguard arrive, upon Wednesday the tenth of *Ottober* : the rest of the Army going towards *Weida*, on the same side of the *Elster*, 12. miles neerer unto *Leipsich*. To this *Weida*, (after the Avantguard at *Plaun* had the second time plundered the poore people thereabouts, as farre as *Zwicka*) did the whole Army draw together, where he also formed a new Leaguer : that so those severall Partees and divisions, which were sent abroad to spoile the countrey, and to bring in contributions, might have a standing Campe to retreate unto.

Leaving, after this, the Duke of *Fridland* still encamped about *Weida*, let us surveigh the other destroyed parts of the Duke of *Saxonies* Dominions : and see what worke *Holck*

*and his reasons
for it.*

*Hee formes a
standing camp.*

and *Gallas* had there (singly and joynly,) made since their severall sendings out from before *Norimberg*. And their Stories let us now fetch up ; that we may the more methodically bring them to their *Generalissimo*, and to the siege of *Leipsch*.

The Story of
Holck actions,
in the Duke of
Saxonyes coun-
try.

And begin wee with *Holck*, first ; who (as we have in the beginning told you) was about the 20th. of *July*, sent out with 6000. Horse and 4000. Muskettiers, into *Misnia* : the reasons whereof, we have there likewise given you. Head-vancing to the edge of *Uoiland*, within some few leagues of *Egra* and *Bohemie* ; seales the smaller handsome townes first of all : as *Dobraberg*, *Hirsberg*, *Lichtenberg*, *Sparnberg*, and *Hoff* : all in this hilly and wooddy frontiers. Next makes he towards those upon the *Elfer* ; which rises hereabouts, a little to the Southward. *Olfitez*, a faire towne, a little more Easterly ; is forced : and burnt downe to ashes for refisiting. *Plann*, a good towne, about a league more Northerly up the same river, is blocked up at the same instant with some Horse troopes : and divers of the villages that belonged to it put on fire, because it surrendred not at the first summons. The rest, I omit : not so much for brevities sake, as for horror : not listing to relate the Barbarismes committed by his *Creat-
bats* : as if they had faine in, not to make *warres*, but *desolati-
ons* ; or, as if they had beleived, that a countrey was never thorowly *conquered*, till it were utterly *destroyed*.

He besieges
Zwicka:

Holck, being farre, as yet, from the Electors Court at *Dresden*, and for that reaon, finding the lesse opposition to controll him : advances boldly, and attacks *Zwicka*, the strongest piece in all that countrey, standing about 14. or 16. miles to the North-East of *Plann* aforesaid. About *August 13th*, he first presents himselfe before the towne : and demands it to be rendred. The summons being denyed, the place is surrounded by his Army. It being situated in a hilly wooddy countrey, *Holck* found a naturall Battery, or rising hill hard by the Castle, upon which he caufed 8. peeces of Cannon to be mounted. With these, playes he hard upon the Castle, and the

the Castle as hard upon him againe. His carriage had beene so good towards other places, since he came into the land, that the men of *Zwicka*, as they despaired of his mercy; so were they by that despaire armed with a resolution, to surmount his cruelty.

The place was defended by Colonell *Kalkstein*, who had beeene sent in hither with 6. troopes of Horse, and some Foote-Companies: so soone as ever *Holck* was heard of in *Voistland*. *Holck* seeing it likely to prove a long siege, sends in his Trumpet to offer them a faire parlee. This being by *Kalkstein* refused: he fearing to lye here so long, till the Elector should have raised the countrey upon him: sends in his Trumpet the second time, with enlarged conditions. These (I reade) they were.

1. To alter nothing in their Religion.
2. To leave them in the allegiance of their *Elector*, not tendering them an oath, to any other Prince. which is ren-
dered upon con-
ditions.
3. To infringe none of the priviledges of their City: but to leave the keyes and Government, still with the Magistrates.
4. Not to spoyle the lesser neighbour townes in their Jurisdiction.
5. To give their garrison, souldierly and honourable conditions.
6. And not charge them with above 200. of his men, for a garrison.

Holck made most solemne protestations, faithfully to keep these Articles; sending them in, good hostages for it: nor doe I find, but that he afterwards kept his promise, well enough with them.

The Elector of *Saxony* being startled with these tydings, sets out his *Ban* and *Arrier-ban*, to call all his *Tenants*, and those that held upon him in any *Service*: to arme for the defence of the Country. The Felt-Marshall *Arnheim*, likewise, is with all diligence sent unto, to dispeede downe such troopes as he could well spare, out of *Silesia*: Hereupon, is

Walenseins Proceedings.

the Colonell Vitzdumb sent downe with his Regiment, unto Dresden. This was about the 20th. of our August.

He plunders
Aww,

and besieges
Chemnitz:

which he is
forced to give
over.

Zwicka now at Holcks devotion, he next assaults Aw (or Augusta) where the Elector had a house of pleasure. Here the souldiers found very rich Hangings, and other furnitures of Court; which were never meant for the entertainment, of such course people. Schopa, a towne upon a river of that name, which runnes into the Mulda, is next faine upon: 6 leagues to the East of Zwicka. Some oppositions being here made, did something colour over that steine of blood, liberally here shed by the Conquerors.

Chemnitz, some 7. miles to the North of Schopa, held them more tache: the hilly and the woody scituition, making the place something the stronger; and the Townsmen the more confident: Desperate, I shoud have said: seeing to that degree had Holcks ussage driven all those townes, that had but any hopes of resistance. Some tolerable conditions, Holck, offered unto them: which they durst not so well trust unto, as unto their owne strengths and resolutions. They are besieged: and Holcks men tooke the paines (which here onely, and at Zwicka they had beene put unto) to make use of the Spade, and to bring forward their Approaches. Some country Boores being gotten in hither, for their safeties, (now to make up 10. Companies) armed with desire of revenge, (especially for their Barnes, which the Imperialists had set fire upon) now fallye out upon the Approachers. Shovells they had with them, which weapon, none could use better: and with these, they laboured to fling the earth againe into the lines and rowling Trenches, which the Imperial Pyoners were now a running. But this being but the Boores Scholars-prize, and they having to doe with Masters of Defence, were quickly beaten in againe, under the favour of their owne Ordnance. The Townsmen kept their owne, for all this: and would not (like Zwicka) hearken unto termes of Treaty: so that the Imperialists were faine to levie their owne siege, and leave them to their liberty.

I can

I can report nothing worthy of a History, in these actions. Plainly, there was not extraordinary much good service done, worthy of a souldier: unlesse this be of honourable report to him; that he made very foule warres of it. For next, burnes he *Curbitz*, *Pestritz*, and *Wilzdorp*: this last, being within 4. English miles of *Dresden*. Early in the morning August 28. did the *Crabats* make a *Cavalcado* to affront *Dresden*: where the Elector was then resident. The City taking the Alarme at it, let flye some peeces of Ordinance amongst them, whereupon they retyred. At broad day light the Ports being opened, some troopes of *Lagers* and *Stalburgs*, were sent out after them. The *Horsemen* of Colonell *Stienau*, having within a league of *Dresden* taken some of the *Crabats*: they confessed the intention they had for firing of the Suburbs. The night after, some of them burnt *Oderen*, upon the river *Floe*, 8. miles South-West of *Frieberg*. Others at the same time did as much at *Doblen*, 16. miles West of *Dresden*. By this it appeares that their forces were divided, for the doing of the more mischiefe: yea their prisoners avowed freely, that they had order from their Generall to set fire upon *Dresden*, and the whole Countrey.

By this beginning of September is Colonell *Vitzdumb* arrived at *Dresden* from out of *Silesia*: to whom divers hundreds of the Countrey Gentlemen, and some thousands of the Electors Tenants, and the undone Boores resorted: to make up an Army. These being so soone as might be sent out to reppesse these *Boutefew's*: *Holck* was thereupon enforced to retire his people towards *Zwicka* againe; there to expect a re-enforcement by the comming downe of *Gallas* to him. In this expedition, did the *Saxons* light upon one of *Holcks Quarter-masters*; with whom they found some writings, which made the Imperialists to be more hated in those parts: and more and more averted the *Elector*, from listning to any Treaty. These Papers discovered no good intentions in the Imperialists towards him: whatsoever

is Holck enfor-
ced to retire,
towards the
Frontiers.

name of peace were pretended. He had also a list of *Holcks* and *Gallas* whole forces, about him : which I wish the *Saxons* had sent hither.

Vitzdumb and his men, having for the time, indifferently well cleared the Countrey of these Scarre-fire *Crabbs* and Imperialists (now retired towards *Leutmaritz* and *Bohemia*) the *Elector*, for easing of his purse licenced divers of these new forces. Divers *Swedes* also, that came out of the garrisons of *Pomeren*, *Brandenburg*, and *Mecklenburg*, were refused entertainment: the Elector supposing the *Foxe* had been dead, because he lay still, and stirr'd not. But *Holck* did but stay for *Gallas* his comming in the end of September: whom (in this quietnesse) goe we a little backe, to fetch from *Norimberg* into *Misnia*.

Gallas his Story. This *Gallas* was by his *Generalissimo* sent into the *Upper Palatinate*, September 13: the designe being, first to doe a service to the Duke of *Bavaria*, by recovering the townes in that Country for him. Secondly, to keepe *Norimberg* still blockt up, by taking of the neareft of their townes: Thirdly, when all was done, to conjoyn with *Holck* in *Misnia*. *Gallas* first of all, sets him downe before *Lauff*: a towne of the *Norimbergers* upon the *Pegnitz*, 8. miles East of them. Here had he not many above 2000. men, and some 4. peeces of Cannon. He tooke the towne September 14th. in the night; after a dayes opposition, or else had the King of *Sweden* the next day relieved it. Here notwithstanding that he tooke it by agreement, yet caused he the Lieutenant that was Governor, to be hanged. Hence goes *Gallas* still Eastward unto *Herßpruck*, 4. miles further: and tooke that also. Some of his, are about this time sent 9. or 10. *Englif* miles more Northerly: where they take *Felden*, upon the same *Pegnitz*. From *Herßpruck*, his Army advances due East, unto *Sulzbach*, 15. miles further. The chiefe of the Citizens here, did he send prisoners into *Amberg*, 5. miles to the South East, for that they had not paid in those 30000. dollars, which at *Walsteins* comming that way, had beeene imposed upon them.

The

The good towne of *Grefenberg*, 11. miles North of *Lauß*. Having taken making him some opposition; was taken, plundered, and divers townes, burnt to ashes. Having served other townes so: his whole Army crosses over to the North-East, and comes to *Weiden* in the *Upper Palatinate*. upon the river *Nab*, 10. or 12. miles from *Sulzbach*: going the same way out of the *Upper Palatinate*, that *Holck* had done before him: saving onely that he goes neerer to *Bohemia*. His march now lyes up the *Nab* to *Dirschenreyt*; and so towards *Wonsledel*, *Ruckenitz* and *Egra*. Vpon Friday *Septemb. 21.*, he burnes downe *Wonsledel*: and the Sunday after, he did as much for *Ruckenitz*: both being the Elector of *Saxonyes* townes, in the edge of *Voitland*. The good towne of *Egra*, on the edge of *Bohemia*, having by the *Saxons* beeene recovered, since *Walensteins* sitting downe at *Norimberg*: He falls into was also deliniate to the same destruction. But this, was by the *Saxon* Colonel *Haxtel* prevented: both by sending in provisions, for the defence of the towne; and by presenting *Gallas* with some moneyes, in the name of a contribution, for the diverting of his fury.

Thence advances *Gallas*, unto *Hoff* upon the river *Sala*, some 24. English miles to the North-West of *Egra*. His way, he directed thorow the hils and woods, upon those Frontiers: where the souldiers hoped, to light upon some of the Countrey Gentlemen and Yeomen; who with their wiues and familes, were for feare fled in thither.

To this *Hoff*, comes he, Munday *September 24.* and hee had an Army of some 7. or 8000. fighting men, though he demanded bread and provisions of the Country, for 14000. Eight peeces of Ordnance with their furniture, drew healong: and now takes he his way to *Plaun*, 15. miles to the North-East of him. He had sent his *Smelters* before him unto *Zwicka*, 12. miles from *Plaun*, that they should by Wednesday night, provide and send him in, Provant bread enough for 14000. people: and indeed the Drablers and hangbyes of the Army, with the souldiers women and children that followed it, might make up 14000. Those of *Zwicka* sending

ding out some to treat with him ; pacifie him with a Copy of the Articles, upon which his Forerunner *Holck*, had compounded with them. *Gallas* answered honourably , That he would by no meanes violate that agreement : but gave them to understand withall , that they had done very well in so compounding, and that it were best for other townes to imitate them : otherwise, there was nothing but fire and sword, to be expected from him. However, he must have victuals for his souldiers.

Hercupon September 26th. He goes from *Plaun* , towards this *Zwicka* , as if he had meant to have seene their Store-houses : but changing his mind (it seemes) he sent some 2. or 3000. Northward towards *Altemburg* : himselfe, with the greatest part of the Army, going to the Northeastward, 32. or 33. *English* miles from *Plaun* aforesaid, unto *Chemnitz*.

Those that marcht towards *Altemburg* , tooke the little County of *Werden* along with them in their way, something North of *Zwicka* : which, together with the other smaller *Flecks* or Market Townes, by the banke of the river *Pleiss*: they use their pleasure with. Thence goe they to *Altemburg* ; the City and Residence of the Duke of Saxon-*Altemburg* : with whom , they compound for 5000. Dollars. But this would not proove a sufficient discharge against the Townes-mens being plundered : seeing that two dayes after, when *Gallas* sent away for them : they pillaged divers houses both in the Towne and Suburbs , at their parting. For now had *Gallas* need of them , he had engag'd himselfe to finish what *Holck* before had given over in the plaine field : and that was to take in *Chemnitz* . The Townes-men here , having enough of the sufferings that *Holck* had before put them to : and fearing that if he came to ioyne with *Gallas* , they should never be able to withstand their owne ruines : they to soone as *Gallas* his men were come up to him, upon the first of *October* yeeld up their Towne : and upon the same conditions , that *Holck* had before given to *Zwicka*. Thence goes *Gallas* towards *Fridberg* : and there *Holck* peeces

He takes in
Chemnitz

joynes with
Holck

peeces in with him.

Holck since his returying to the Frontiers from the *Saxons*, having by this time well recreuted his Army upon confidence of that, and of *Gallas* comming; returned into *Misnia* againe, still burning the countrey before him, wherefoever he found any discontent or resistance. In the end of September, *Holck* having some 8000. men in his Army, goes to give a second *assaut* unto *Dresden*.

It was a very misty morning: under favour of which, the *Crabbs* and others were gotten into the Suburbs. Being discovered more by the noise then sight; the Ordnance are from the walles turned upon them: some withall sallying out amongst them. *Holck* knowing of that, comes in withall diligence, hoping in the mist, to beat the sallyers, and to enter the Ports pell mell together with them. But *Vredenburch*'s Regiment, sallying out upon the 2^d. Alarme; maintaines the fight in the poether, till the mist about noone cleared. Then could the Canoniers better discerne, where to direct their volleys: so that *Holck* perceiving the Action not faiseable, drawes off Conjoyning his men, and gives it over. This being too tough a piece for *Gallas*. him; his next project is, to conjoyne with *Gallas*: for which purpose, he now goes immediately towards *Friberg*.

This conjunction being effected, they October 3^d. fall upon *Frauenstein*; a pretty towne upon a hill, some 16. *English* miles to the South of *Dresden*. Here finding some opposition, they carry the towne by Scaladoe; and put all (both soldiars and inhabitants) to the sword for it. Here they now purposed to reside, with their Army: for that the towne was pretty and strongly situated. October 4^d. they assault *Friberg*, a handsome towne upon the river *Mulda*, some 10. *English* miles to the West of *Frauenstein*. Here is a beautifull Church and a Cloyster: and in that, the Tombes of divers of the Elector of Saxonyes Ancestors. The towne was hard laid at by the Imperialists, and the *Saxons* shew'd them some little sport for it. But it was but for their exercise; they being no way able to hold out a generall assault, which was

They take
Frauenstein:

and *Friberg*.

next day threatened them : anda generall destruction wthall, if they yeelded not. Hereupon, October fifth is the towne given up : the defendants being able to obtaine no other conditions, then the saving of their lives ; marching out with no other weapons, but their swrdes shely. Some writing telles me, that they had souldiers condicions. Divers of the richer Countrey people, having fled in hither (as to a place of some indifferent securite) the souldiers exacted from them, and from the Townes then, 40000. dollars contribution. The Elector of Saxony was faine, likewise, to come off with 80000. dollars more, to save the Monuments of his Predecessors, from being ransackt and defaced. Tis the fashion of divers Germane Princes, to be buried in their Robes, and with their Ensignes of Honour, and perchance, Jewels : all which would have beene booty, good enough, to these Rake-shames ; that make no conscience of this horrider kinde of Sacrifedge.

Nere this Friburg, Holky men taking, I know not what, high displeasure at a certayne Minister of the countrey, (a man of rare learning, as Gallobelgicus callcs him:) miserably, first of all, hew'd him in pieces with their swords ; and then fling him to their dogs to be eaten. But they, out of a certaine horror, which over-awed their Curiositye and Canine appetite ; would not so much as touch, or lide a drop of the blood of him : whereupon his Friends, the next day, gathered up his pieces, and interred them. And lest this should seeme incredible, to the Readers ; the Author of *Le Soldat Soudois* avowes, That the *Crabats* shewed themselves ingenious to invent new torments, for the poore Inhabitants : and that it was frequent with them, for want of Dogs-meate, to feede their canes with humane carnesago. This if it may be true, though the dogs were the *Man-eaters*, yet the *Crabats*, surely, were the *Cannibals*.

Having done with Friburg, the 2. Imperial Commanders, (after the taking of soone smaller townes) advance towards Mafzen : which is the towne that gives name to the whole Marquisate.

See what we
have written of
Tillyes souldiers
ryflying of the
Marquesse of
Onsfachs
Tombs, page
115. of our
Second Part.

The inhumane
Barbarisms of
the *Crabats*.

Marquisate. The place of it, is upon the Westerne banke of the river *Elb*, some 18. *English* miles to the North of *Friburg*, and within 10. of *Dresden*. Hither came they *Ottober tenth*, where finding small resistance, they the same day tooke possession of it. They take *Meissen*.

Whilst this was a doing, the *Saxon* forces which were upon the Easterne side of the *Elb*: make towards the new bridge, that the Imperialists had over the river: which falling a-board with, they tooke in sunder, and either carried away with them; or let the pieces drive downe the stremes from them. The Imperialists flew into the reskeue of their bridge, but all with the latest: for that the *Saxons* having begun with that end, which was next unto the Imperialists; tooke away all meanes of their getting over to disturbance them. They let fyve Cannons and Musket shot, freely enough among them: but for all that, the *Saxons* went thorow with their busynesse. By this exploit, were the Imperialists staved off, from returning over the *Elb* any more, to the Eastward.

The *Saxons* cut off their bridge from them.

This caused them to turne all along upon the Westerne Whereupon banke of it: deviding their Forces thereupon, to doe the *Holek* turns more mischiefe. Some of *Holeks* men, upon Thursday *Ottober 11th*. (as if to be revenged for their bridge) plunder and burne *Lumisich*: 6. *English* miles to the North-West of *Meissen*. Others of them, the same day, were flowne out as farre as *Oschitz*; as much further to the Northwards which, with other villages in the way, they did but pillage.

Holek turns towards *Leipzich*.

Ottober 12. they came to *Murzen*, upon the East side of the river *Mulda*: 10. miles to the West of *Oschitz*, and halfe way betwixt it and *Leipzich*. Here they encountred not with much trouble. The Towne pretended poverty, and that they could not pay so many dollars, as the soildiers demanded for contribution. But soildiers not using to be paid with excuses: carry away their richest Burgers to their Army: as if the captiving of their richest men, would have made the rest the abler; or, that they could have coynd the Burgers, into *Dutch* dollars.

October 13. doe 1800. *Crabars* flye out as far as *Nienfier*, and spoyle that countrey. Five hundred other *Horse*, offer as much at *Salfeld*: but the garrison there, perswaded them to goe home againe: which yet they did not, till they set fire upon the Suburbs. As much is by others done, to the lesser townes upon the *Elb*: so that the *Elector of Saxony* was by this time made sensible, what it was to have angred *Walenstein*.

By this time had the *Elector of Saxony* forces, under *Wizdumb* and *Kalkstein*; pressed upon the Imperiall Leaguer at *Frawenburg*, and made them to forfase it: for *Gallas* was by order from his *Generalissimo*, now a going towards *Bohemia*; upon the entreaty of *Don Baltasar di Marradas*, who commanded all in *Bohemia*, *Arnhem* and *Dubalt*, had forely, by this time, overlaid the Imperialists in the lower *Silesia*; gotten *Breslaw*: and made their way open, either into *Moravia*, or *Bohemia*. But of this, in its owne division.

Gallas sent to-
wards *Silesia*:

Againse of
walenstein.

He goes to-
wards *Leipzic*.

Holck moves
towards him.

By this time was our great Duke of *Fridland*, come into *Voiland*; whom we left encamped at his *Weida* Leaguer. He (the more to anger the *Elector of Saxony*, whom he hated) sent againse some Partees towards *Friburg*: commanding either the rifting, or the redeeming of the *Elector* all *Monuments*. *Holck* agreement and *Safe-guards*, being pleaded; *Walenstein* answer was, That he did not hold himselfe concluded, by any bargaine of his Lieftenants: so that the *Elector* was compeld to sacrifice him.

Holck being come thus neare *Leipzic*; now began the Duke of *Fridland* to move from his *Weida* Leaguer, towards *Leipzic* also. His march was to *Altenberg*, on the river *Pleiss*, about 24. *English* miles to the North of *Weida*, where he late downe; and cast up a royll Leaguer. Thence sends he some forces to *Born*, along the same river: mid-way betwixt *Altenberg* and *Leipzic*; and about 12. or 13. *English* miles from either. Thence goe they unto *Schenfeld*; *Holck* at the same time, mooved also towards *Leipzic*.

Th:

The *Leipfischers* (to their terror) perceiving, which way these *Caff of Falcons*, (the 2. Imperiall Armies) made a Point: they, with all speede, Munday October 15, conveigh away the richest and lightest of their Merchandise, unto *Wittenberg*; and so downe the *Elb*, unto *Magdenburg* and *Hamborow*.

The next day, a Partee of Imperiall Horse (some 60. in number) pillage the verie nearest villages unto *Leipfisch*: as *Gonnewitz*, *Heida*, *Steteritz*, with others. The chiefe of their expedition, was but a boote-haling voyage: for that they rob even the market-women. Wednesday the seventeenth betwixt 7. and 8. in the morning, were there divers troopes of Imperiall Horse, discovered at *Vbleffsen*, neere unto *Damberg*: which continued there in *Baitaglia*, most part of the day following. The Citie discharged some Ordnance at them: but they never offered to come neerer.

The 18th. about noone; came there an Imperiall Trumpet into *Leipfisch*, with 2. letters in his hand: one whereof was directed from the Duke of *Fridland*, to the Burgomaster: and the other, unto the Governor of the Castle, and the militarie Commanders. That to the Magistrates, was to this purpose; That the Duke of *Fridland* his Excellency, did in faire termes desire, and in the name of his Imperiall Maestie advise them; to commit themselves unto his mercy, as other Cities had done. That, moreover, they would receive 200. of Colonel *Hatzfelds* Horsemen, into their Castle; and resigne up themselves wholly, unto the service and devotion of his Imperiall Maestie. This if they refuled, then had his Excellency iust cause with his whole power to come from *Altemburg* upon them; and to make their suine an example, unto all the Cities of the Empire.

The letter to the Military men, was, an invitation to them, to yeeld upon faire termes: an offer of good Quarter, to as many as would march out quietly: and of honourable condicions, both to Officers and Soldiers, (either on horsebacke or on foot) as many as would take entertainment. The Mi-

walenstein sum-
mons Leipfisch.

Their answer.

litory men answered plainly, that they would not yeeld; and the Magistrates, shaffled off the businesse to the souldiery; answering by the same Trumpet, that the Castle was a Fort, which they had no command of: nor could they tell, how to get the souldiers out of the City: and that having tendered his Excellencies letters to the Govermour of the Castle, he would not open them, because not by name directed to him. And with these answers, the Trumpet returned towards the Leaguer.

That which made the *Leipzichers* so valorous, in their answers; was a hope they had upon their Duke, partly: who was now going from *Dresden* unto *Torgau* upon the *Elb*: there (as they hoped) to stay for *Arnhims* comming out of *Silesia* with the Army. They had a confidence also, upon Duke *Bernards* comming to relieve them, by the way of *Dwringen*. But that hope, was quickly daſht by *Pappenheims* falling into the ſaid *Dwringen*: who gaſt before hand with Duke *Bernard*: which Duke had neither strength nor command to relieve them.

Friday October 19th. about noone; ſome Imperiall horſemen, together with 80. Muſkettiers; drew neere unto the wals of the City: and about the burying place (commonly calld *Guds-Aker*) they made an orderly *Court of guard*: which they held unto the evening. About 2. a clocke, the former Trumpet came againe into the City. Being preſently brought before the Magistrates: and delivering his ſummons by word of mouth, he by word of mouth had his demaſt given him. His message was, That his Excellencie the Duke of *Frißland*, had not beeſt used to be put off with words; nor to ſend twicke to one purpose: and therefore did now aduife them to give him a ſpedie ſatisfaction, by putting themſelues under his obedience: otherwise, they muſt not hereafter expect any mercy, but to be made an example to all that continued in their obſtinacie. The Cities anſwer was, That they had no power to diſpoſe of their Princes Citie, without their Princes anſwer.

and the townes
anſwer.
Leave for it: and therefore aduifeſt his Excellencie to reſt ſatiſfied

fied with it. By this time, a greater strength of Imperiall Horse, presented themselves before the City, to answer whom, did some Muskettiers make a sally : the Ordnance from the walls likewise playing very hard upon them. About 4. a clock, divers Imperiall Cornets more, charging hard upon the *Leipzich* Muskettiers, beat them into the City.

Sunday October 21. by break of day, did the Imperiall Armies begin to draw round about the towne : and to bring on their Ammunition, and all other preparations for a siege. Then beganne the *Walzensteins* to breake the ground, and to bring forward their Approaches, some Muskettiers, were immediately also lodged in one of the Suburbs. The Ordnance went off roundly from all parts of the wall : whose peales continued untill the evening. This day, were two other Trumpets sent from the League into the furrownded City ; who were brought into the Satehouse before the Magistrates : to whom they in the afternoone delivered their mesage. About this time, was there a short pause or cessation from shooting. These Trumpets being returned into the League ; another was presently dispatched towards the City : so willing was our *Generalissimo* to winne a towne by parlyes, rather then by fighting. This Trumpet was not dispatched till within evening. The report went of his mesage, That the Duke of *Fridland* vowed hee would have the City, either by faire means, or by foule : and if they would yeeld it willingly, they should have good Quarter : but in case they stod it out ; he protested deeply, that neither man, woman nor child, no nor so much as a dog, should ever goe alive out of the City. *Walzenstein* was as likely to be a man of his word, as any man (that I know) in the world, in *Turky* or in *Crißbergenome*.

The Imperiall Foote that were lodged in the *Suburbs*, let fire their volleys into the City : with which, though divers were hurt, yet was there but one boye slaine bot-night, neare unto the great Colledge. About night, they began on both sides to draw towards an agreement : and yet (as those of *Leipzich* write of themselves) very doubtfull it was whither

or

or no they should ever come to an accord ; for that the Townesmen were very resolute, and averse from yelding. It being once darke, the Imperialists out of the Suburbs, heaved hand-Granadoes, and other Wild-fires, into the City: which not onely gave light, but fire also in 2 places unto it. This was with much diligence, and little losse, quenched : nor did the Fire-balls doe much more hurt, then take off one souldiers right legge , whereof next morning he died. The fight on both sides continuing; another Imperiall Trumpet presented himselfe before the Ports of the City : but the small and great shot going off so incessantly , both from the walls and Castle; it was so hote staying for him there: that he againe returned, without delivering of his message. Presently was he sent backe againe: and this was the summe of his errand. That his Excellency the Duke of *Fridland*, was contented to allow them 6. hours more , to consider upon it : in which time if they resolved to entertaine parlye, they should send him out their Deputies unto *Schonfeld* , where they should be treated with.

23.

Leipzich towne taken.

By 6. a clocke the next Munday morning *Ottober 22.* some of the *University* , ioyned with others of the Citie Counsell and Magistrates; repaire unto *Schonfeld* : whereafter an hours deliberaſon , they on both sides came to agreement for the rending of the Citie. About noone, the Imperiall forces, with sound of Drumme, and all gallantrie, entred the Citie, presentely possessing themſelues of the *Petriner Colledge*. About 4. a clocke the ſame day, did the Felt-Marshall *Helck*, and many other Imperiall Officers; ride also into the ſame Colledge: taking a diligent view all about it; how they might moft conveniently plant ſome peeces of Ordnance in it, to play thence upon the Castle. Hereupon were 4. halfe Cannons brought into the Citie; and 3. Batteries were with Horse-dung and boards upon them made up immediately, againſt the Castle. One, was neere the *Peters Tower*, and the other 2. in the *Petriner Colledge* aforeſaid. Upon each of theſe Batteries, they mounted one peece of Ordnance : and with

with every one of them, they plaid all that whole night, upon the Castle. Divers Ensignes of Foote, kept their guards upon the Market place, in the meane time: amongst whom, was therea goodly troope of Curiassiers (Horsemen in compleat harnesse) consisting of some 180.

The Commander of the Castle the same man (as I heare) that before delivered it up to the Generall *Tilly*, the day before the last Battell of *Leipsich*, and called *Johannes Vopelius*, hung out the *defensive Banner* from the top of the Castle; and (as if he scorned to be twice taxed, with the shame of giving over one Castle) he plaid very hard with his great Ordnance upon the Imperialists: even from their first entring into the Colledge; untill broad day light upon Tuesday morning. That day, being the 23^d. the Imperialists having discharged their Ordnance but 17. times in all; the bloody Flag was taken downe from the Castle; and a white Flag of truce put up in the roome of it: to signify their desire of a composition. Shooting is then given over: and hostages and Deputies are sent one to another, to conclude upon the conditions. That evening were they accorded: and to this purpose.

First, that all those Citizens that were fled into the *Leipsich Castle* stile, together with the souldiers, should march out with rendred bagge and baggage; the Citizens taking passes of the *Generalissimo*, to goe whither they pleased: or otherwise to abide in the Citie.

Secondly, That the garrison should march out with Colours flying, matches lighted, full armes, &c.

These marching forth of the Castle; 2. Companies of Imperialists, immediately take possestion of it. That very evening were the Burgers called together, and commanded to bring their Armes to be laid up into the State-house. That night, was the neighbour village of *Eiteritzb*, by the Imperialists burnt downe to the ground: divers houses also within *Leipsich*; (those especially next unto the Castle and river,) were plundered. The next morning, were such like insolencies

cies by sound of Drumme, and upon paine of death, forbidden : so that the souldiers the next night committed no more such pillages.

The 24th. day, nothing of moment passed more within the Citie: excepting onely that the Magistrates and Burgers were called together to pay downe 50000. Rixe-dollars, for a present contribution, and were charged to discover what goods they had of the *Ausburgers* or *Norimbergers*. The 3. or 4. next dayes, were all the buildings and watch-houses about the Castle, puld downe or slighted.

Other things
done by Walen-
stein, in the
time of the
siege of Leip-
sich.

In the meane time that the most of the Army, are at the siege of *Leipsich*: some other Partees are sent out from the Imperiall Leaguer at *Altemburg*, to reduce or plunder the countrey. Some advance out, as farre as *Torgau* upon the *Elb*, to intercept that Passe, if they had beeene strong enoughe. But into that, had the Elector of *Saxony*, put 6. Companies of Colonell *Loefers* Foot, 11 troopes of Colonell *Taubens* Horse, being also enquaerted in the neighbour villages.

Hee takes
Weissenfels,

Mersburg
and
Naumburg.

October 19th. other Imperiall Partees made themselves Masters of *Weissenfels* upon the river *Sala*, due West of *Leipsich*: and of *Mersburg*, a little more to the Northward downe the same river, and upon the other side of it. This is an Appropriate Bishopricke, held by the Elector of *Saxony*: and here is a bridge over the *Sala*. Now also did *Holck* make his demands for *Tillyes* arrier of money, dne from *Naumburg*; and sent 36. Muskettiers into the Towne to be the safe-guards of it. From *Mersburg*, goe they with a strong Partee, unto *Hall*: still more Notherly downe the *Sala*. To this good towne, the Imperialists made this proposition; That it should furnish them with bread for 2000. men, but for 2. dayes onely: and for so long a time, admit their *Generalfissimo* with his Retinue into their City, and accommodate him. The Burgers obtaining respite tili 6. a clocke the next morning; returned this answer: That whereas they had received Letters from *Holck*, that some of their Magistrates

strates should appeare before his *Generalissimo* at the Leaguer of *Altemburg*: they could not, till they knew his pleasure, furnish the demandants with the bread desired of them.

Some few daies after, is the Colonell *Hatzfeld*, (brother to the expulsed Bishop of *Wurzburg*) sent with 6. troopes of Horse unto this *Hall*; to propose these, (not propositions, now, but) commands, unto the Burgers.

First, That they should be well advised of the oath, which they had sometimes taken unto the Emperor.

Secondly, That presently they should send the bread before demanded.

Thirdly, That they should take in, and for 2. daies main-taine, the *Generalissimo*; with those that he should bring with him.

Fourthly, That they should precisely send him word, how strong the garrison in their Castle was, and how well provided.

The Burgers perceiving *Walenstein* to be in good earnest; Is admitted in-open their Ports, immediately, unto the Imperialists: who presently fall to besieging of the Castle. But the *Swedes* (whom the King had left in it, presently after the Battell of *Leipsich*,) so well put them off; that they were forced to retire from it.

to Hall towne;
but is repulsed
from the Castle

By this time, are the Towne and Castle of *Leipsich* taken; and the Army drawne together to *Altemburg*. Then had the *Generalissimo* a designe upon *Torgau*: from whence the Par-tee he had lately sent thither, had bee turned backe againe. By the taking of this *Torgau*; should he be master of a bridge His designe over the *Elb-streame*: his way would bee opened into the upon *Torgau* lower *lausatia*, and the *Marc*, of *Brandenburg*: yea and the diverted. whole conquest of *Saxony*, made more faiseable to him. For this purpose, did the Imperiall Armie about the 26. or 27th. of October, remove it selfe unto *Eilenburg*, a towne upon the river *Mulda*, halfe way betwixt *Leipsich* and *Torgau*. To this place, came there an Express from the Count

Walensteins Proceedings.

of *Pappenheim*, of his being hard at hand with his forces : whereupon the Imperiall Army returned backe againe to the Westward, (besides and beyond *Leipsich*:) and went and joyned with the *Pappenheimers* about *Mersburg*. *Pappenheim* being come, perswaded his *Generalissimo*, by and by ; to passe over the *Sala* into *Duringen*, with the maine of his Army ; and to goe and take in *Erfurt*, *Weymar*, and all the chiefe Passes and Posts, of that countrey. Hee wrought so upon him, chiefly with the faiseablenesse of the Action; that there was no likelihood of opposition in those parts : Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar* having but 4. or 5000. men for the guard of all these townes ; and himselfe lying now sicke at *Erfurt*. A shrewd counsell ! seeing by the taking of this countrey, (and of the Passes thorow the *Duringer-Walde*, after this) the backe doore had both beene barr'd and bolted ; by which the King of *Sweden* should have broken in to disturbe them. This was once *Walensteins* owne plot ; to have come, namely , this way into *Misnia*.

Whilst he therefore prepares to put this designe in execution , he hath wrod brought him , not onely of the King of *Sweden*s being come to *Erfurt* , but of the advancing of the Van of his Army , towards the *Sala*. This was Duke *Bernard*, indeed, who was come a day or 2. before, to pursue the Reere of *Pappenheim* : as in the end of the *Kings Story* wee have told you. Hereupon, is the case altered : so that Tuesday the 30th. of October, went there out a Proclamation from the *Generalissimo* , That all Imperiall Officers and soouldiers , should upon paine of death, repaire unto their Regiments and Colours in the Army : all Officers, the same evening , being by an Exprefse commanded out of *Leipsich*. Wednesday October 31. did the whole Imperiall Army advance from *Mersburg* unto *Ranstadt*, and *Lutzen*, betwixt *Mersburg* and *Leipsich* : whereabouts they quartered.

November the first, being Thursday, were there 3. Comets of Horſe ſent backe into *Leipsich*, to be enquartered within the

by the coming
of *Walenstein* cal-
ling his Army
together:

the City : more Horsemen with their Baggage, the next day comming in after them. The *Soldat Suedois* affirmes, that *Walenstein* and *Pappenheim* both, came into *Leipsich* to take a view of it, and to have it fortifid for the place of their Retreat : but the *Journall* or *Diarye* of these Actions, printed in the selfe same *Leipsich*, Novemb. 13, mentions no such matter. The same first of November, went there two Posts thorow *Leipsich*, unto *Gallas*; to cause him to hasten backe with his Forces : which I heare to bee about nine or ten thousand : though fifteene thousand say some Relatiōns. And now were the *Leipsichers* enforced to pay in their fifty thousand Dollars : which October 24. they had agreed upon.

Vpon this first of November, likewise; did the Imperiall Army remoove towards *Weiffenfels* upon the river *Sala*; eight *Englis* miles West of *Luzzen*. Hesent also the Colonel *Savis*, with his Regiment of Foot; and the Colonell *Bredaro* (so my *Spaniſh Relation* writes both their names) to take in *Naumburg*. The Horsemen leading the way, found the King of *Swedens* Vantgard there before them: so that *Bredaro's* Horse having some flight skirmish in the Suburbs, with the *Swediſh*; returned againe to *Weiffenfels*. These were those, which we called the 600. Imperiall Horse; who (as in the end of the Kings Story we told you,) were comming to take in *Naumburg*.

And now for that wee can by no better meanes come by the motions on the Imperiall side, then by the discovery made by one of their owne: I will here, therefore, make use of my *Spaniſh Relation* written by a *Walfsteiner*, and twice printed in *Lisbone*.

The King (saies my Author) being passed the river, and lodged with his Army before *Naumburg*: the Imperiall Army march'd up likewise in Battell array, before *Weiffenfels*. The Kings men about this time, putting out some few troops of Horse, there fell out some encounters betwixt them and the *Crabars*, but nothing to the purpose. The Kings men retiring suddenly, the Imperiall Army disposed

Walensteins Proceedings.

of it selfe, in the small villages about *Weiffenfels*: newes being brought after a while, that the King did fortifie his Campe about *Naumburg*. *Walenstein* was once in the mind to have marcht presently, and to have encountered with the King of *Sweden*: but by reason that the ordinary way betwixt *Weiffenfels* and * *Naumburg*, was but narrow and troublesome to march, because of the continued mountaines: hee onely sent out *Iulio Deodati* Quarter-master Generall, to goe with a good guard of *Crabats* about by the way of *Zeitz*: to take a view of a more commodious passage, and of the place and posture that the King was lodged at.

Zeitz, is up
the *Eller*, the
river of *Leipzich*:
14 miles South-
East of *Naum-
berg*: and 12
from *Weiffen-
fels*.

But his Excellency the *Generalissimo* in an action of that importance, was first desirous to heare the advice of all his Colonels: for the getting whereof he employed the Count of *Pappenheim*. The Colonels dissuaded the encounter, upon these considerations.

First, of the Kings being already lodg'd and fortified, in a Post of so advantagious a situation.

Secondly, for that the time of yeere was so farre spent, and winter so neere comming on, that keeping the Field would be most incommodious for the Army.

Thirdly, and aboue all, for that tidings were now come apace, of Count *Henry Vanden Bergs* going towards *Cullen*: which would put a necessity upon the *Generalissimo*, to hasten towards * the diversion of the danger of that place, the losse whereof would be of so perilous a consequence. Vpon these reasons. (in which the Colonels with one consent agreed) it was concluded to bee unfit, and at that time un-usefull, that the King should be assaulted.

All these reasons served for the foundation of that resolution, which his Excellency tooke presently, for the sending away of the Count of *Pappenheim* towards the river of *Wefer*, with two Regiments of *Crabats* onely: to the end, that with those, being joyned to those Forces which hee had before left with the Count of *Groensfeld*, hee might succour

The Reasons
why *walenstein*
assaulted not
the King.
* But this of
*Henry Vanden
Berg*, was but a
false Alarm.

and why he sent
away *Pap-
penheim*.

succour *Cullen*: and take order, withall, for the levying of some new troops, in *Westphalia* and *Paderborn*.

In the meane time, was his Excellency resolved, to put his owne Army into Winter Quarters, about the river of *Sala*; as also in *Leipisch* and other places neere unto *Dresden*. All these divisions was he minded, so proportionably to have parted into Bodies of Horse and Foot; that each of them might be able to make resistance, till the next Quarters could well come in to their succours; should the King, perchance, attempt upon any one of them.

For the putting this designe in execution; his Excellency remooued his Army from about *Weissenfels*: sending the Count of *Pappenheim* with two Regiments of Foote, and some of Horse, from *Mersburg*, for to goe and take in *Hall* Castle: which was very strong, and guarded by 200. Swedes. *Pappenheim* had order likewise, for the lodging of some troopes thereabouts; according as hee should find things disposed.

His Excellency, after his dispatch intending to march to-wads *Wesler*, came to lodge with the rest of his forces about *Lutzen*. But apprehending no improbable suspition, that the King would never suffer him, to take in that place; under the nose, as it were of his whole Army: and that by turning backe and passing over the river *Sala*, he might easily succour the Castle of *Hall*: hee refolved upon another purpose. Sending Colonell *Contreras* to take up *Altemburg*: his Excellency himselfe was resolved with the rest of his Army, to have gone (Northward) and lodge at *Mesburg*. By this disposing of himselfe, should he (at *Mersburg*) bee neere to backe *Pappenheim*: and by sending the other Colonels to *Luea* and *Altemburg*, should there have beeene a space left in the middle, for the King to have macht away, even from *Nauenburg*, unto *Dresden*. By this cautious forecast, might his Excellency have after followed the King with his maine strength, and either utterly have overthrowne him, or at least cut off his passage: and have shut him and all his forces, utterly out

He refolues to
put his men in
to their winter
Quarters.

Walenstein o-
pens a gap, for
the King to
have marcht
away.

out of the Empire.

But the Kings conveniences, were measured by other designes, farre different from our suppositions. For He having understood of the sending away of *Pappenheim*, and the other 2. Regiments: resolved presently to come and set upon us. Insomuch, that the Count *Ridolfo Coloredo*, being marched with the *Crabats* towards *Weissensels*, to fetch off a Captaine, who was left in the Castle with 100. souldiers: hee found the King * with his Army, already advanced farre up on his march, in sight of the City, towards *Lutzen*. Yet *Coloredo* came so fit, and in so good a time; that he had leisure enough (notwithstanding the King had already sent some Muskettiers, to take in the Castle) to bring off the men with him. This having performed, *Coloredo* still valiantly skirmishing, with his few Foote and *Crabats*; made his retreat unto *Ripach*, in sight of the Kings Army.

At this very time, had his Excellency, thorow the reiterated messages of *Coloredo*, given the Alarm unto his Army, by the accustomed signe of shooting off 3. peeces of Ordinance: notwithstanding all which, it was even now night, ere the Regiments could have recovered to their place of Rendezvous, about *Lutzen*. The King by this time, was come from *Ripach*; and had taken up his lodging, about a league from thence. But Colonell *Holck* for all the darkenesse of the night, went about to put his forces into battaglia: and indeauoured by perpetuall skowtes, to discover the proceedings of the enemy. Neither wanted his Excellency any diligence, to dispatch messengers to the Count of *Pappenheim*: giving him notice of the Kings resolution; and a command therewithall, to returne backe with all his forces: and to advance, in the meane time, his Cavalry and Dragooneers, with all speede possible. This message overtooke him, iust at that instant when he had entred *Hall*, and had clapt a Petard to the Castle gate: in which there was a *Swedish* Commander, with a garrison of 200. souldiers. And thus farre are the very words of my *Spanish Relation*: wherein, though the deafeate given by

* This was the
5th of Novemb.

But the King
comes upon
him.

Walenstein puts
his men into
array,
and
sends backe for
Pappenheim.

by the King the night before the Battell, be omitted: yet, certainly, there be many other particulars on the Imperiall side; which but from one of their owne, we could not have come at. And so farre, in my Readers names, I thanke my *Spaniſh Relater*: whom I have done no wrong unto, in Translating. And now have we brought *Walenstein* to the stake: for the morrow morning begins the Battell. This I adde, that *Gallas*, though he were sent for, yet could he not come time enough to the encounter. What may seeme defective here, of *Walensteins Proceedings* just before the *Battell*: shall be supplyed by and by, in the *description* of the *Battell*.

P THE



The famous Battell of Lutzen ;
fought the sixt of November 1632.
Old Style.

Wherein you have the manner of the King
of Swedens death,

W I T H

The overthrow and flight of the Imperiall Army
and their Generallissimo; the Lord ALBERT
WALENSTEIN Duke of Fridland, &c.



Ow we have heretofore waited upon
that incomparable Prince the King
of Sweden, from Erfurt unto
Naumburg; you may remember to
have read, page 73. of this Booke.
In which 3. daies march of his; there
was no such thing as the defeate of

* Page 813.
The true name

of Merode, I

am told to be

Werningeroda:

of a towne by

Halberstadt,

which he is

Soldat Suedois avoucheth. Nor was Merode at all in the Battell: whom he maketh to be slaine there. The onely suspition of any opposition, to be made by an enemy in all this march, was; a newesbrought his Majestie by the Boores, of Earle of

some 22. Cornets of *Crabats* under the command of *Iosam* and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Vorgage* (commonly to the Germans knownneby the name of *Vorgas*:) who hadbeeme seene a day or two before, about the countrey. But these *Crabats* were onely heard of, not encountered with. *Pappenheim* was also marcht thorow: without ever so much as offering to take in *Erfurt*, much lesse of fetching any composition or contribution of 2000. dollars, as the same *Soldat Suedois* also affirmeth. Duke *William Weymar* was in the towne with 3000. men (voiced to be 5000) with *Pappenheim's* small Army of 5000. Foote and 2500. Horse, was much to weake to have meddled withall: though, by the counsell he gave to *Walenstein* it appeareth; how good a minde he had towards it.

Page 812.
Saint Martins
day is Novem-
ber 11th. Old
Style: in all
Martyrologies
and Romane
Kalandars.

Two English
Gentlemen
taken prisoners
by the *Crabats*.

The King (as we told you) being arrived at *Naumburg* upon Thurday November the first, (*Old Style*) which is not Saint Martins day, as the former * French Author mistaketh: tooke order to have his Army lodged in the Field, Towne, and Suburbs; even as we before told you. The same day the King went out upon a Partee, for discovering of the enemy. After him, that afternoone, went these 3. Gentlemen of our Nation: Lieutenant-Colonell *Francis Terret*, Sergeant-Major *John Pawlet*, and Captaine *Edward Fielding*. These 3. going alone by themselves, to a forsaken village where there were 2. waies thorow it: (the King having gone the left hand way, and they now taking the right) fell into an ambush of the *Crabats*: the first and the last named of these three, were taken prisoners by 2. Rit-masters of the *Crabats*: one of them named *Potnick*, a Greeke Captaine. This adventure wold I not overpass: for that these two Gentlemen being carried prisoners into the Imperiall Leaguer; kept under a guard in the Reere of the Army, all the day of the great Battell; and after hal'd unto *Prague*, among the fleeing Imperialists: have had the meanes to enforme me, of what otherwise I could not have come by. And thus much they having with much courtesie affoorded mee; I could not but.

bnt quote them, for my better authority. They were that night carried unto *Weissenfels*, where *Walenstein*, then lay in the Castle of it. He sent the Count of *Pappenheim* to them, the same evening, to enquire of the King of *Swedens* strength, lodging, and intentions. The most of the Imperiall Foote, lay now in, and neere about this *Weissenfels*: 700. or 800. of them keeping guard upon the market-place. The Imperialists then gave out themselves to bee 50000. but it appeared to be spoken by a Figure, and to terrifie the King: for that they were not any thing neere that number.

To returne to the King; His Maiesty the next day (being Friday) in person visited all the *Avenues* and Passes about the towne: and went out againe with great Partees of Horse, to take some prisoners, by whom to learne something of the enemies. Finding that the Imperialists lay still, and that the Passes by which he should have gotten to them, were both dangerous and difficult: he returned at night againe, and gave order to entrench the Army before *Naumburg*, on the side towards *Weissenfels*. Till the Trenches could be made, the Army lay in the field: after which, the Foote were enquarterred in the Towne and Suburbs, and the Horse in the next vilages: some 2. or 3000. being only left abroad all night, to watch the Trenches.

Vpon Sunday September fourth, came there a *Saxon* Boore to *Naumburg* unto the King, with a letter in his hand, to shew him. The letter was written by the Count *Coloredo*, Sergeant-Major Generall of the Imperiall Army: unto an Officer of his, that lay with his Regiment at *Querfurdt*, on the Western side of the river *Sala*: fight against *Hall*, and 10. English miles from it. *Coloredo* had enforced this Boore, to carry A letter of Coloredo brought unto the King. to his letter: and the Contents of it were to this purpose. That the Generalissimo had sent the Count of *Pappenheim* to take in *Hall* Castle: That his men of *Querfurdt*, should march up to ioyne with *Pappenheim*: and that the next morning, the Imperiall Army was to part from *Weissenfels*. This letter

The King entrenches before Naumburg.

The Battell of Lutzen.

seemes to have beeene written upon the Satterday night: according to which date , it agrees rightly with *Walenssteins* dis-camping from about *Weissenfels*; which was indeed done upon the Sunday, after that *Pappenheim* was dispatched towards *Hall Castle*.

A debate being had, whither it were best to fight, or not?

Vpon this Intelligence , His Maiesty the same day calld Duke *Bernard* and Sergeant-Major *Kniphausen*, to a counsell: propounding the great question unto them two ; Whither, that in *Pappenheims* absence, the Duke of *Fridland* alone were to be set upon? Duke *Bernard* (I am enformed) was for the valiant *Affirmative* : That the advantage was good; and that seeing they knew not how long they should enjoy the opportunity of this Division; *Walenstein* was presently to be attacked. But Major *Kniphausen*, was for the sober *Negative*: and that the enemy was not to be foughten withall. His reasons were two.

First , no man is to fight , but when hee is apparently stronger then his enemy : which the King at this time was not.

Kniphausen
diswades it.

Secondly , No man is to attacke a stronger enemy , unlesse compeld by a pressing and unavoydeable necessity. That is, either to force his passage when he is hembd in: or when hunger and want of victualls constraine him to it. Neither of which being the Kings case, there was no reaon for present fighting.

Good reasons: which so farre preuailed with the King, that giving over all thoughts of present fighting, he was resolued to have left a garrison in *Naumburg*; and to have marcht with his whole Army to conjoynce with the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Lunenburg*.

And these reasons are different (I must confess) from those flourishes of * *Le Soldat Suedois*; which take up five whole Pages in him. I dare pawne my *morall* and *historicall* *Faith* upon it, that his muster of reaons there, are but his owne *mystakings* or *Inventions* , and never by the King nor *Walenstein*, so much as dream'd of. You here for the Kings part,

* From Page
815, to Page
820, in my
Edition.

part, have Kniphausens two arguments: and for Walensteins, you may please to take notice of Coloredoes Letter, and of the Generalissimo's intentions, agreeable to this Letter; which we have before given you out of our * Spanish Relation. I * In walenstein's will but confute my Soldat once more; and that for his confounding a noble Story, which very next fellowes in him: and may seeme to croise my Relation. His mistake, (I meane) of Walensteins taking of Leipsich: which having beeene done ten dayes before (full three weekes before St. Martins day) he now affirmes to be but first attempted upon our second of November. These few Failies have I fairely noted in him; to dis-abuse my Countreymen: to whom I heare him recommended, for the French Tacitus.

Pardon my digression. The King being thus resolved; sends Post unto the Elector of Saxony, to enforme him of his purposes, and to lay the plot for their uniting. The King desired him, to come to Eilenburg, upon the West of the river Mulda, 14. miles West of Torgau, where the Duke then lay: the King himselfe resolving that he would advance to meet him unto Pegau first; which is upon the Elster, 14. miles to the South of Leipsich: and to Grim, afterwards; upon the river Mulda; 18. miles East of Pegau, and 14. to the South of Eilenburg. True it is, that the Elector of Saxony lay at Torgau at the same time, with an Army of 4000. Foot, and as many Horse: whereof 2000. Foot, and 1500. Horse, were the Duke of Lunenburgs.

goes from
Naumburg to-
wards Pegau:

Walenstein the same Sunday, drew out from Weissenfels: leaving a Captaine onely with his hundred men, for the keeping of the Castle. Thence marcht Walenstein unto Lutzen, ^{Walenstein goes} two Dutch Leagues to the East of it: where, and in the Dorps round about it; his whole Army enquartered.

The next day being Munday, November 5th. the King according to his former resolution, parted out of Naumburg, to goe towards the Duke of Saxonie: leaving the towne and garrison, under the command of the Saxon Colonel Vitz-dam. For the more lightnesse and expedition in his march;

he

The Battell of Lutzen.

he commanded his Baggage to stay with the garrison still in *Naumburg*, for a day or two : being, he thought but onely to have gone and ioyned with the Elector of *Saxony*, and then to have returned againe to *Naumburg*. He supposing, withall, that *Pappenheim* being now absent, and *Walensteins* men not together, he should not be disturbed in his march : about 4. before day-light (the Drummes having beaten ever since one a clocke,) on the Munday morning, advances towards *Pegau*. The King having notice, of *Walensteins* forsaking *Weissenfels*: sends by the way, to take in that Castle. The hundred men that *Walenstein* had left in it, did *Coloredo* come so timely to fetch off; that he had done it, a very little, before the *Swedes* comming.

In the middle of his march, about ten a clocke, the same forenoone, came there some Gentlemen ryding, and some Boores running to the King ; with advice that the Imperialists were lying still in severall Dorps and Villages hard by, about *Lutzen* : without any intelligence at all, of the Kings being in motion. This the King being enformed of: convokes presently his high Officers to a Councell of Warre, to advise what were best to be determined. His Majesty, even then, (and then first) put on the resolution for fighting: openly speaking it out, *That he now verily supposed, that God had given his enemies into his hand*. Hô ! brave occasion, sayes the Duke of *Saxon-Nauenburg*. Now God blesse us (say divers great Officers) tis a happy opportunity. And truely so it was: for divers prisoners (even then brought in, by the Kings Partees, and by the Boores) being by the King examined whither they had any Alarm in their Quarters, of his marching: freely confessed that they had none, And so much was evident enough, for that they were now surprised in their Quarters. Thus thought all the Officers: all being resolved to fall on presently. And, indeed, there was great reason for it: for could the Kings Army have falle in amongst those villages; he had given a *Comisado* to severall of their Quarters at once; have cut them off singly: for that they could

The King having notice by the way, of *Walensteins* scattered lodging.

resolves to fall upon his Quarters.

could never have come together, to unite their Forces, or have succoured one another. This was evident.

And thus neare were 100000 good mens hopes and wishes, of having arrived to the very highest of their expectations: nothing in the whole world, appearing to be betwixt the King of Swedens desires & his absolute victory, but the length of the way onely. The Gentlemen and Boores that brought him the Intelligence, told him *Lutzen* was but hard by: which the King was in good hope of, for that He was even then in sight of it. The Army advanc't stoutly, and doubled their march upon it: but their legges found it a longer way then their eyes; it being a sad *Campagna*, full eight *English* miles of ground to *Lutzen*. Besidz all this, was there a filthy Passe in the way, at a Bridge over a River; (where but one or two men could goe over a-breast) which hindred the Army full two houres going. By this hinderance, was it even night, before the Army could get within two *English* miles of *Lutzen*: so that had the King (as he said) but two houres more of day-light; *Walenstein* (doubtlesse) had beeene taken of which victory; had beeene ex-*Imperator'd*, and *un-Generalissimo'd*, of the way, and But God that is both *Ancient of Dayes*, and *Lord of Hosts*, shortnells of had otherwise disposed of it: He had made the way so long, the day; defra- and the time so short; (no doubt) for a better purpose. ted him.

This ill-favoured Passe, was within two *English* miles of *Lutzen*: and in the Village that belonged to it, were there two Imperiall Regiments of Horse (one of them *Crabats*) enquaerted. These having a little notice of the Kings coming; had gotten upon their Horses, and taken up a high hill on the other side of the Passe, next to *Lutzen*. They made as though they would have disturbed the Kings Passage; but they did not: the Kings Foot marching fairely over, with some Horse amongst them. Some of the Kings Foot, were still marching over, till it was darke night, or within it. Those that got over first, entertained a slight skirmish with the Imperiall Horsemen: without any losse to the King, killing some 50. or 100. of them, and taking one *Crabat* He rowtes two
Regiments of
the enemies.



Ensigne.

The Battell of Lutzen.

Ensigne. And now the King taking another hill, (right against that, which the Imperialists possessed) he from thence let fye some peeces of Ordnance among them : which caused them to take the benefit of the night, with some confusion to march off in.

This is that Ensigne, so much spoken of : which had *Fortune* and the *Imperiall Eagle*, depainted upon it. But it is no such raritic, for that most (or all) of the *Crabbs* Ensignes, have the *displayed Eagle* for their bearing. This was presented to the King for a faire *Omen*, as if He had already now conquered, both *Fortune* and the *Eagle*. But the King (tis reported) tooke no great content at it: being sorry (I beleevc) for that the night had prevented him, for taking more of them.

And here the King being surprized with the darkenesse ; was forced to sit downe in the open fields , with his Army : himselfe lying in his Coach , as other Officers did that had them. Here lay he all night in *Battaglia* : every Regimene lying downe, in the same order that they had marched, with their Armes by them. The Pikeemen, they stukke up their Pikes an end by them : and every Rott, (that is every fixe) of Muskettiers bringing their Muskets to their *Rottmaster* : hee set them right up with their mouthes upward, and bound them together with a peece of Match : where they stood ready at hand, for all occasions.

The Imperiall Army was in a terrible *Hubub*, at the Kings comming over the Passe : for now was the Alarm sent in hot, to all the severall Dicrps and Quarters , even from *Lutzen* unto *Hall* and *Leipsch*. Order upon paine of death was given, for every man with all speed possible ; to repaire towards *Lutzen*, to their *Generalissimo*. Presently upon this, began all the Regiments to draw together ; some of which, were all night upon their marches: and some Horse that were Quartered very farte off, being not able to reach up, till ten a clocke next morning. And thus (even then) did the mist so long keepe off the King next morning, till his enemies

and is faine to
sit downe till
the morning.

enemies could be made strong enough for him.

As every Regiment came in, so were they put into order: which continued all night long; as the two English Gentlemen (then prisoners there) observed. About ten at night, did Wallenstein begin to thinke of the places most advantageous, for the planting of his Ordnance: some of which, having mounted upon the Wind-mill-hills; he then began to cast up a trench of earth about them. All night and next morning, his Dragooneers and Pioners, wrought with their Spades about the High-way; and to make the Ditches, or Draine by it, serve them for a Brest-worke, to lodge their Muskettiers in. And this was their worke too, all the next misty morning; which fatal weather gave them also the more respite, to recover their feares and wearinesses; and to fortifie themselves against their unconquered enemy. And thus was the night (the last night to some thousands) overpassed.

The King now over the Passe, had put himselfe into a necessarie of fighting: and being thus engaged, the sooner hee fought, the better: for that his enemy should be the lesse provided for him. The Bride, therefore, more long'd not for her wedding morning, nor slept lesse: then the King that night did. Tuesday, (that fatal sixth of November) at last began to draw neare: and alas! it came all to early. A gentle mist, as if foredooming how blacke a day it would be; did his good will to have kept it night still: and the Sunne, as if his great eye had before-hand over-read the fataltie of the following day, seemed very loath to have begun it. So sweet a correpondency (though secret) and so sensible a compassion, betwixt Gods more noble instruments, there is; that the day had rather have beeene no day, then become Gustavus his last day: and the Sunne had rather have conceald his owne glory, then his fellow Gustavus beames, should bee extinguished. But the martiall King, even forcing himselfe to awaken Time, and hasten on mortalitie, would needs make those clocks and larums of the warres, his fatall Drummes, to beate two houres before day-light. *Arme, Arme, Repaire*

to your Colours, keepe your Orders, stand to your Armes: these were the morning summons, to awaken the heartie souldiers; from a cold, a hard, and an earthly lodging. The Army was easie to be put in order, for that the most part of it, had laine, and slept in *Battaglia*. One while, was the King purposed to have advanc't, and faine on presently: but the warre being *Gods cause*; he would, like *David* and *Himselfe*, first aske counsell of the *God of Battells*: and at least recommend *His owne cause* unto *Him*. The Drummes having beaten the first March, Hee caused prayers to be read to himselfe, by his owne Chaplaine *Doctor Fabritius*: and where there were *Ministers* at hand; the same was done thorow every Regiment of the Army.

The morning prooved so misty, that it was not possible to see which way to march: nor where to finde an enemy to strike at. And this(unluckily) staid the Kings thoughts, from advancing presently. This was a fogge of advantage, unto *Walenstein*: who purposing but to stand his ground; (which by working all night about the ditch and high-way, his Pioners had made more troublesome to be assaulted) was now resolued; that if he must fight he would there abide the first shooke: and no way to secke the Battell, or to moove towards his Adversary.

About 8. a clocke, the mist brake up: and (but for one mischance in it) promised as faire a day, as ever was 6th. of November. As it began to cleere, the King tooke occasion to encourage up his souldiers: and going to his owne Subjects first, he to this purpose bespake them. My deare brethren; carry your selves bravely this day: fight valiantly, a Gods name, for your Religion, and for your King. This if you doe, Gods blessing, and the peoples praises, shall be your guerdon: and you for ever shall even be laden, with an honourable and a glorious memoriall: nor will I forget to reward you nobly. If you play the Pultrons, I here call God to witnesse, that not a bone of you shall ever returne againe into *Sweden*.

The Kings
Orations;
to the Swedes;

To

To the *Germane* Troopes, this was the *Oration*. & you my Brethren, Officers and fellow-souldiers of the *Germane* nation ! I here most earnestly intreate and beseech you, to make full tryall of your valours this one day, against your enemies. Fight manfully against them this day, both with mee, and for me. Be not faint-hearted in the Battell, nor for any thing disengaged. Set me before your eyes, and let me be your great example : even me, who dreadlessly for your cause, am here ready to adventure both life and blood, to the uttermost of any danger. This if you doe, there is no doubt but that God himselfe, will from Heauen reward you with a most glorious victory : of which both your selues and long posterity, shall plentifully enjoy the benefits. This if you doe not, farewell for ever to your Religion : and your liberties must for ever remaine enslaved.

Thefe Orations of the Kings, being from both nations, with a horrid clashing of their Armour, and with cheerefull vowes and acclamations, answered; the King as cheerfully then replied. And now, my hearts, let us on bravely against our enemies : and God prosper our endeavours. Sprightlyfull withall casting up his eyes to Heaven, hee with a loud voyce thither sent up this forcible ejaculation. *Iesu, Iesu, Iesu,* The Kings vouchsafe thou this day, to be my strong helper; and give me Prayers. courage this day to fight for thy glory, and the honour of thy great Names sake. This Praier (according to other Relations) I find that he sometimes thus varied (for he led on, praying:) *Ô my Lord Iesu, Sonne of God ! blesse these our Armes, and this dayes Battell, for thine owne glory, and holy names sake.* This said, he drew out his sword, which waving over his head, hee advanced forward, the formost of all his Army.

His roiall person was that day waited upon, by Duke *His attendance.* *Francis Albert of Saxon-Lawenburg*; and by some of his Maiesties owne neerest fervants. The Lord *Craibham* also, *Great Master or Marball of his Maiesties Houshold*; had the leading of a body of *Reformadoes*: which were especially commanded

commanded, to waite upon the Kings owne person. And amongst these, were our English and Scottish Gentlemen and Officers, whom (as I have before told you) the King had at Schleusing heretofore Reformed. Of this body, (which consisted of severall nations) were there still 3. or 4. close about the King, ready to be sent with orders, up and downe the Army: who were still supplied by Craibham. The King was that day attired, (as usually he was accustomed) in a plaine Buff-coate, and un-arm'd. Some report, that a tendernesse he had in his shoulder, where a Musket bullet had a long time stooke: would not suffer him to endure armour. And therefore when hee was this morning desired to put on his Corset, he said *The Lord God was his Armor;* and refus'd it.

The Kings Watch-word, was the same which had beeene of so good an Omen, before at Leipsich, *GOTT MIT VNS: GOD WITH VS.* The Generall Walensteins being now the same, which Tillyes then was; *I E S V S M A R I A.* This was the Kings order of Embattailing. His whole Army, (which now, after he had left some at Naumburg, and at Weissenfels, was betweene 17 and 18000 men) he devided into 2. Fronts; (for so I take leave to call them,) and each of these, into the Wings and Battell, with their Reserves. Each of the Wings, were composed of sixe severall Regiments or Squadrons of Horse, lined with five severall Bodies of Commanded Musketiers: every one of which Bodies, had 2. small Drakes or Fielding Peeces, which advanced playing still before them. The Battell in each Front, consisted of fourre Brigades of Foot: a Reserve of Foot, being betwixt the two middle Brigades of the first Front; and a Reserve of Horse hindmost of all, betwixt the two middle Brigades of the Reare or Second Front. Before each Brigade, march sixe Peeces of greater Ordnance: and thus much the first sight of the Figure shewes you.

The Right Wing, markt with the Letter I, was led by the King himselfe: whose place is to be seene just over the said letter, and number 6. neere to the first Brigade. The five Bodies

His Watch-word.

His Order.

Bodies of Commanded Muskettiers, all marked with the number 7. were commanded by the Count of *Eberstein*. The Horse Squadrons of the *Left Wing*, were committed unto the glory of the Day, Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*: whose place is at the letter K, over the number 12. by the fourth Brigade of Foot-men. The five Bodies of Foote in this *left Wing*, marked with 13: were the charge of the Colonell *Gersdorff*: The Battell made up of the four Brigades of Foot, was commanded to the Swedish Count of *Neetes*, Colonel of the Kings Life-guards. The four Foot Brigades of the *Second Front or Reserve*, were Commanded by *Dodo Kniphausen*, Sergeant-Major Generall of the whole Army: to whose faire Conduct, the Victory is also much beholden. The Horse of the *Right Wing* were entrusted to Colonel *Claes Conrade Zorn*, of *Bulash*: by which name of *Bulach* hee is commonly knowne. The Horse of the *Left Wing*, were committed to Prince *Ernest of Anhalt*. The Reserve of Foote marked with 37. was commanded by Colonel *Iohn Hindersan*, a Scottish Gentleman: and the Reserve of Horse, marked with 38. by Colonel *Oeme*, of the Palatinate.

The Imperiall Army, had his Excellency the Generalissimo, *Walensteins*: thus ordered. He first drew it all up into one mighty Front: order. which he then devided into three Bodies. His *Right Wing* of Horse, marked with the letter A, (whose end was neere the Towne of *Lutzen*,) was committed to the Count *Ridolfo Coloredo*, that day Sergeant-Major Generall of the Arthy. This Wing, had also its commanded Muskettiers: besides some others that were lodged in the gardens, by the towne aforesaid. This Wing having also the advantage of the *Windmills* and their *hills*, by the towne-side: made use of thole naturall Batteries, for the planting of 9. peeces of Ordnance: the *Mills* and *Millers house*, serving them also for a good shelter. The Battell or *Middle-Ward*, markt with the letter B, was commanded by the Duke of *Fridland* himselfe, whose place was said to be in the head of that great Regiment of *Piccolomini's*.

The Battell of Lutzen.

mines Horse, which is in the very middle of the Foot-Regiments, marked with 49. The *Left Wing*, opposite to the *Right Wing*, and markt with the letter C: was led by Colonel *Hendrick Holck*; newly made *Lieutenant-Felt-Marshall* unto *Pappenheim*: who but commanded, till *Felt-Marshall Pappenheim* shoule be come into the Field.

All this Imperiall Order of embatteling, I have presented in one mighty *Front*: so, namely, as it appeared to the Kings people, and to him that tooke the *Figure* of it: since, (very largely) cut and imprinted in *Copper*, by *John Isaac Gabler* of *Leipsich*: who also by the Kings owne directions, and the description of *Olfuss Hans* his Majesties *Enginier*, last yeere set forth the *Figures* of the *Battell of Leipsich*. And the manner of the same *Figures* of the *Battell of Leipsich*, wee have in this also followed. We know, that betwixt every *Brigade* of Foote, there shoule be so much roome left, as that another *Brigade* might advance up betweene the distance betweene them, being the breadth of one of them. But our *Cutter* (plainely) to make his *Figures* fairer, hath straightened the distances. And this (I hope) is mended, by telling of. The 2. *Reserves* also, were to be drawne up betweene the 2. *Brigades* that stand next before them: but these wee have left behind, as *Olfuss Hans* in the *Battell of Leipsich* also did: which, I suppose, was there done; for distinctions sake to the vulgar beholder, every souldier knowing the true place of them. The explication of the severall letters and numbers, shall follow by it selfe, immediately after the *Figure of the Battell*.

Having thus described the *Order*: the *Field* of the *Battell* would next be considered of. The King had a North-Easterly march of it, from *Naumburg* towards *Lutzen*: so that the rising Sunne was something within a while, favourable. The wind, also, (that little that was) blew fairely for him: so that the King very ioyfully spake it, I thanke God I have both wind and Sunne to favour me.

The Countrey was a goodly vast levell and *Campagna*, as
Come-

The Figure
described.

Corne-lands could be ; even, as farre almost as the eye could The field de-roave over. And yet was the place of Battell subiect to as scribed. many accidents (and *Walenstein* was Master of them all) as a plaine countrey almost might be. The King, right in his way of advancing, had a wet ditch (made by hand) called the *Flossgraben*, cut traverse to him : so that hee was faine to edge about to the Right, with his whole Army ; to passe by it : and then to edge as much to the left againe, to put himselfe right before the enemy. The Imperiall Army was embattelld all along beyond a broadhigh-way, which led from *Luzzen* unto *Leipisch*. On this side of it, was there a kinde of broad draine or ditch : which served for bounding and laving the ploughed lands; and to keepe withall, the High-way the dryer. This had *Walenstein*s Pioners bestowed some cost upon : so that putting some commanded Muskettiers downe into it, it served them as well as a *Trench* or *Brest-worke*. This was so troublesome for the Kings Horsemen, that many of them were overturned and left behind, in the getting over to charge *Walenstein*: for indeed there were divers gaps throw it, which the Horse iustling for, overturned one another. The ground also, behind the ditch, had two little risings: and those did *Walenstein* make choise of, for the planting of those Peeces, marked with the letter *F*, in the *Figure*. That Part of the High-way also towards *Luzzen* had an old *Trench* or dry ditch, drawne to it : which being nothing of it selfe, but a Boundary for lands, that also did *Walenstein* put Muskettiers into : which served them like the High-way ditch, for a *Parapet* or *Brest-worke*. This is markt with the * letter *H*. *Gallobelgicus* A pretty distance beyond the High-way, neere unto the Towne of *Luzzen*, (markt with *D*,) were there 3. or 4. *Wind-mills*: amongst which, the letter *E* standeth. Behind these, had *Walenstein* lodged some Muskettiers: and the *Mill-hills* served as naturall *Batteries* for him to plant nine peeces of Ordnance upon. Betweene the *Mills* and the towne, were there divers gardens with mudd-walles round about them: and in these also, (in one of them 300. being after found

Advantageous
for *Walenstein*.

Figure of the
Battell, hath
omitted this
Trench. He hath
also turned the
High-way
wrong.

The Battell of Lutzen.

(dead) had he caused Muskettiers to be placed. *Leipisch* Highway, as it went sloping along : so had he caused his men to bend and hang towards it.

And now to the Action. The Sunne having by 9. a clocke cleerely dispeld the Fogge; it prov'd as promisg a morning, as ever was 6th. of Noveember: and that commendation should our Almanacks have hereafter given it, but for one mischance in it. And now the King shot his *loosing* or *warning-peeces*; and so advanced.

The King advances. Being passed the *Floß-graben*: He left also the Dorp of *Chursitz* behind him: betwixt which and his Army, he left his Coach and Ammunition-wagons: of which there were not above 100. at most: the King having left the rest at *Naumburg*, being now come hither, with no purpose of fighting. The King advanced, till hee came with the end of his *Right-Wing*, within Musket shot of a little wood: having all the way a full view of the Imperiall Army.

Walensteins numbers much more then the King. That *Walenstein* much over-powered the King in numbers; may appeare by the mighty long *Front* that he put out; full 2. *English* miles, from one *Wing* end to another. This is also to be considered: that *Walensteins* (and all the old) *Discipline*; is to march 10. deepe in *File*: whereas the King, was no more but 6. deepe: of *Foot* (I meane;) and of *Horse*; but 3. or 4. deepe: according as the *Brigades* were either stronger or weaker. Besides this, that *Walensteins* *Files* were all the way almost as deepe againe; his *Ranks* also were in *Front* so much longer: that the King was faine to send for *Bulach*, and all the *Squadrons* of *Horse*, from the *Right Wing* of the *Reere* or *second Front* to imp out his Feathers at the end of his *Right Wing*: for feare that *Walenstein* should surround him. These *Squadrons* when General-Major *Kriphausen* missld out of their places; hee sent a Gentleman to his Majesty: to know whither hee had otherwise employed them? The King was at the same time, likewise, sending the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* unto *Kriphausen*; to tell him, that he would but use them in that first charge; and then returne

The King enforced to lengthen out his Right Wing.

wme them backe againe to their Order. The Duke meeting with the Gentleman, and telling him thus much : both then returned to their places.

The King wondred not a little at it, when he saw how faire a Clew *Walenstein* spread : affirming to those about him; That if he had any *Seconds* behind his first *Front*; he could not judge him to be lesse then 30000. True it is indeed, that *Walenstein* had given out *Proviant Commissions* for 40000, and sometimes for 50000 people : but yet had hee not so many fighting men : for that there were at least 10000 women, servants, children, and such Hang-byes, belonging to the Army; which are to be discounted. Besides this, it is to be considerid, that *Walenstein* had but one *Front*, and the King two, so that we may well allow *Walenstein* to be 20000. in the *First Front*: at the very first ordering of the *Battell*. After which, accouning those that were still comming in, even till 10. a clocke; and *Pappenheims* Horse and Dragooneers, which came in about one or two a clocke: and his Foot, thought to make the second fierce charge in the night : and then (doubtlesse) these could not be fewer then 10. or 12000. which would have made up in all, full 30000. fighting men, had they beene altogether.

The Armies being come within Cannon shot; the great Ordnance, began to play one upon another, terribly. The Aire roar'd, and the earth trembled : and those manly hearts that feared not dying, were yet very loath to have no more play for their lives, then to be beaten to pieces, with the bullet of a Cannon. And here had *Walenstein*, surely, a great advantage over the Kings Army : for his Ordnance being all ready planted upon steaddy and fixt Batteries: the Canoniers traversed their Peeces, and delivered their bulletts with more aime, then the Kings men could possiblly: who gave fire in motion still, and advancing. His Majesties Cannon, ever as a peece was discharged; was there left to be brought after: the Army still advancing, and marching away from it. Plainely, the King liked not this sport: for that the Imperiall Cannon did his men far more spoile and execution; then he possiblly

The Battell be-
gun with great
Ordnance.

The Battell of Lutzen.

sibly could againe retурне them. Seeing therefore no good to be done this way , hee causes his Army to advance upon the very mouthe of the Cannon , and to charge towards the *High-way* , and to beate out those Muskettiers , that were lodged in it.

The Imperiall Army stood their ground, all this time, expecting that the fiercenesse of their enemies charge , would indifferently well be abated , by that time they had beaten out those Muskettiers : and had put themselves out of order and breath , with scambling over the ditches . And indeed the place being almost mans height , a many of the Kings Horse-men , were there left tumbling up and downe : but of the rest that gat over , this was the order of their Charge . The commanded Muskettiers , and the *Foote* of the *Swedes Brigade* having cleared the *High-way* : the whole *Front* advanced to charge together.

The order of the first charge. This whilst they were doing , the little *Drakes* or *Field-Pieces* , (2. of which marcht before every Body of Muskettiers , that lined the Horse of the *Wings*) were first fired: and the Muskettiers at the same time giving their first *Saluēe*: the Horse then charged home upon the Imperiall Horse ; by the *Drakes* and Muskettiers , something before disordered . This order was held in the first charge , by the whole *Front* of the Army: but I must now leave the *Battell* and *Left Wing* engaged , to speake of the *Right Wing* first , where the King in person commanded.

The King at his first advancing , having obserued whereabouts in the Imperiall *Left Wing* , (now opposite to him) the *Crabats* were marshalled ; and where the *Curiassiers* , (who were compleatly armed in blacke harnesse *Cap à pied*) he calcs the *Finnish* Colonel *Stolhanſe* to him , (as tis likely he did other Colonels , as he rode along :) and pointing to the enemy . *As for those fellowes* (meaning the *Crabats*) *I care not for them* , saies the King : *but charge me those blacke fellowes soundly* : *for they are the men that will undoe us*. Thus much did *Stolhanſe* himselfe oftentimes , (and at table) relate unto divers.

The Kings speech of the Imperiall Curiassiers.

divers Gentlemen of our Nation : Some of which tell the Kings words from *Stolhanßes* mouth, this way. *Charge me those blacke fellowes soundly : for tis prophecyed that they shall be the ruine of me.* But this word propheſie, others confesse that they heard not.

The King fought at the head of the *Smalanders* Squadron. The couragi-
Himſelue was ſtill the formoſt : with his piftoll in one hand, ouerneſſe of the
and his ſword in the other ; and when his piftolls were diſ- King.
charged, laying on, andлаſhing with his ſword : and the
enemy giving fire in his face, and laying at him againe, freely.
Some have complained, that only with the *Smalanders*
Squadron, which you ſhall find at the number 6 and the
Oſtro Gothes, at the number 5, or at moſt the *Vplanders*, at the
number 4, did now onely advance and charge the enemy.
Perchance theſe 3, now gat the ſtarke, and were ſomething for-
ward, &c. then the 3. Squadrons of the *Ingermanlanders*, the
Weſt-Goths and the *Finlanders*: whom you ſee in their orders
and numbers, 3. 2. 1. towards the end of the *Wing*. These
3. Squadrons, indeed, fell not on at the ſame place with the
King, but advanced directly upon the faces of theſe 3. Im-
periall Regiments of *Curiaffers*, which you ſee right before
them, at the numbers 56. 57. 58. Nor were they blamed af-
ter the *Battell*, for any slackneſſe or not charging : for that
the King (as we told you) had ordered *Stolhanß* to charge
theſe *Curiaffers* ſoundly. And as for *Bulach* and theſe Squa-
drons of his, now placed to the right hand of *Stolhanß* and
his *Fins*, beyond number 1, they were in the very beginning
of the encounter ſo diverted, that they could not charge right
forward as the King expected. And for that, this is the true
reafon. That Regiment of *Crabats* in the very end of the Im-
periall *Left Wing*, which you ſee in the *Mapp*, at the number
59, did in the very beginning of the charge, wheele about be-
twixt the Wood, and the end of the Kings *Right Wing*; and
there endeavour to fall upon the *Swedifh* Ammunition-Wa-
gons, in the *Reere* of the Army. These *Crabats* would have
made a foule pudder among the ammunition, and have blowne

The *crabats*
wheeling about
upon the Kings
Waggons:

are beaten off by Bullock.

up most of the powder, doubtlesse; had not *Balach* had an eye to them. He giving a home charge upon them; beat them off from the Wagons, for the present: but the Swedish Coloneil facing it about, to returne to his owne place againe, was by the *Crabass* charged upon the croopes, and put to some disorder. And this dis-array is easie enough to be beleeved: for that the manner of the *Crabass* fighting, being but for a spitt, and in no good order: whosoever will answer their charge, must necessarily doe it in disorder too: or else they cannot follow the *Crabass*; to doe any good upon them. And iust now, fell the mist againe: which did this good in that part of the *Bastell*, that this disorder among the Swedish Horse, was not discerned; and so no advantage taken of it.

In this *Interim*, yea just at this instant; was the King slaine: You see so loath I have been to come to it; that I have wheeld about in my *Relation*, after the *Crabats*: rathen then too suddenly to strike the Readers hearts dead, with the same bullets and wounds, that the King now died withall. But I must come to it.

The King (as was said) out of the greatnesse and heate of his courage ; having made a home charge upon those iron-men, the *Cuirassiers*, according as himselfe had spokēn to *Stolhanß* ; he was there overlaid with numbers : for his men being in danger to be hembd in, both by them and *Piccolomini*, whose Regiment now also charged : were faine to gue ground, and to retire towards their owne *Bodies* againe. There did the King receive a shot in the *left Arme* : which he not feeling enough at first, thought it had bee nothing; and would needs have led on still. But perceiving by and by his royll blood to gush out abundantly, and that part of the bone was withall broken : hee thus calls to Duke *Francis Albert of Saxon-Lauenburg* : *Cousin (faies the King) I am sorely wounded, helpe me to make my retreat.* This whilst the Duke, and those that were with the King and him, were about to doe, and were already turned, (the Squadrons that

The King being wounded
in the fight:

the King charg'd withall, being now also put unto the retreat) there came up to them an Officer or Cavalier of the *Curiassiers*, who too well knew the King and observed him, when his face had beeene towards him. This *Curiassier*, coming behind the King, as he was now retreating ; *This is he* in his retreat shot thorow the Body. But the *Curiassier* (though this were no sufficient satisfaction for such a Kings life) did not carry it away so : for that *Luchau* who was *Stall-master*, (*Master of the Horse*) unto the Duke of *Lawenburg* ; shot him dead presently : that no man might e-
He slaine, that
ver live to glory, how hee had slain the King of *Sweden*.
shot the King.

The King was held up in his saddle a very little while: but the *Curiassiers* charged so fiercely in upon the *Swedisb*, that they were not able to bring off the dying King, who fell presently. And pleyd he was with bullets, even in that interim : his Horse being also shot in the shoulder about the necke ; who ranne homewards to the *Swedish Bodyes*, without his royll Master: even very lately, the soule of all those *Swedisb Bodyes*.

And iust now, fell the mist : the Sunne, who before shined so brightly, (even almost from the height of his *Meridians*, it being now past a 11. a clocke) on the sudden muffling up his face in a mourning Cloud : as if not able to looke upon, the falling King of *Sweden*. The Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* seeing the King fall, and his men beaten backe, gave all for lost presently: shifting himselfe withall out of the Battell, *Saxon Lawen-*
burg gets him
unto *Weiffensel*: This made him to be so ill spoken of, thoro-
the whole Army, and to bee censured for worse then out of
cowardise: the souldiers not sparing to charge treacherie
upon him. But this scandall, those that better knew him have thus excused. The troth is, that he had beeene at *Vienna* till the end of January before : had since that time ferved the Imperialists; and was but a fortnight or three weekes since, come into the Kings Army. So that hee fearing all lost, gatt him
Battell.
out.

out of the Battell unto *Weiffenfels*; that he might have this to answer to the Imperialists, should they become victorious; that he was not at all in the Battell. But hearing, that night, how the *Swedes* had the victory, he was by 4. a clocke next morning in the field, as forward as the formost. However, he was the man that first gave abroad the rumour, that the King was kild: and by him was it sooner knowne in *Weiffenfels*, then in the Kings owne Army. This Duke finding no employment, after the Battell, nor great good will among the Army towards him: went after 2. or 3. dayes, to his Cousin the *Elector of Saxony*, who sent him to the Army in *Silesia*, and there he is now *Felt-e-Marshall*, unto *Lieftenant-General Arnheim*.

All this while, are the Imperialists masters of the Kings body, and of the ground they had beaten the *Swedes* from: They had the King, I say, in their possession; and there they The King stript him first of all: every man being greedy to get some part of his spoyles, that they might hereafter glory to have taken it, from the King of *Sweden*. Some got his Spurres: one of which, had the buckle broken off it: a common souldier got his Sword, another his Ring, which was presented to *Holck*: his Buff-coate, his Hat, and other parts of his cloaths, all were now pillaged from him.

And this greedinesse of the souldiers, (every man to get Why not carried something) was one of the causes that his body was not carried off, by the Imperialists. Another reason for which might be, that every man beleaved him not to be the King of *Sweden*: for notwithstanding that himselfe told them he was the King; yet divers (for all that) suspected him rather to be some great man, that said so to save his owne life: as desirous rather to be taken prisoner.

Several reports there went abroad the Army, of the circumstances of his manner of dying. Some relate it thus, that one *Truchses* who waited upon the King in his Chamber, being himselfe faine downe wounded besides the King (and after brought off alive) was demanded by an Officer of the enemies,

enemies, Who the King was ? and that asking the same question of the King, he should answer, *That he was the King of Sweden*; whereupon he thrust him thorow the body with a broad sword, and then ranne away : for that the *Swedes* now charged. Not much varying from this, is the Letter of *Nicophorus Kesel*, Preacher unto Duke *Bernard*: who names one *Loebelfinger* (a young Gentleman) in stead of *Truckses*. This *Loebelfinger*, is sonne to Colonell *Loebelfinger* of *No-
rimberg*: who *I am the King of Sweden*; who doe seale the Religion and Libertie of the Germane Nation, with my blood. After which was now ser-
fuhjoyning, *Alas my poore Queene ! and commanding his soule unto the Lord to God*; they then kill'd this dying Conquerour. For one of the Imperialists at this time shot him thorow the head, into *Marshall Crail-sham*: and so to the right temple, the bullet palling againe out at the left : another, thrust his sword into his body and right side : and he, or a third ; gave him a chop withall in the legge; and so left him naked, with five wounds upon him : the *Swedes* by that time comming on to charge againe. This was reported by the young Gentleman (saith the Preacher) who having there received three wounds, was laid among the dead as one of them : but being afterwards brought off alive, hee then reported thus of it. But were it *Truckses*, or were it *Loebelfinger* ; hee is said to have dyed of his wounds, so soone as ever he was fetcht off: so that he had no time nor strength, to tell more of it. That there is a difference in the names, is an easie mistake : especially so suddenly after that buddle. *Truckses* might report it from *Loebelfinger*; or *Loebelfinger* Different re-
from *Truckses*: However, I have divers Writing that runne upon the same thing ; and therefore, surely, there was at that time such a belief amongst a many in the Army. This probability is very much strengthened, by the Imperiall-souldiers owne report of it, made at *Prague* to those Gentlemen of our nation, then prisoners there. How, namely, that the King being first wounded and in his retreat pursued by them, would as they effected to shoot and strike at him, call out and say, *That heo was the King of Sweden*. My Spanish Relation addes

The Imperialists go to see
the dying King.

adds this to it. In the beginning of the encounter, one *Inno-
centius Bacela*, Comrade to Colonel *Piccolomini*, knew the
King, as he lay wounded and dying upon the ground: where-
of giving *Piccolomini* notice, he with 10. more went to see
the Body, which was yet quivering: and whilst they were
about to bring it away; a troope of the enemies charging,
forced them to retire and leave it. The noise of his death,
was presently dispersed abroad: but yet belefe was not ful-
ly given to it, for that some prisoners affirmed that hee was
but hurt, and carried off in a close Coach, following his white
Ensigne. Thus farre my *Spaniard*. All this might be true. The
Swedish prisoners that reported him to be but wounded; were
those that were taken, so soone as ever he offered to retreat:
and before he was shot the second time. But that they said
he was carried off in his Coach, &c. was their Judgement:
that being wounded, it was likely he would goe off in his
Coach, which at first stood behind the *White Regiment*.

A conjecture.

What, now, if putting all these together, we should suppose *Piccolomini* himselfe and his Company, to be the men, that thus questioned and wounded, the dying King of *Sweden*? Was it for meerly charging with his Regiment, when the King of *Sweden* was firt shot, that *Walenstein* afterwards bestowed as much Lands in *Bohemia* upon him, as he was offered 400000 Dollars for, which amounts to 100000 pound *Sterling*? But this I make but a suspition, no accusation: nor have I heard it from *Prague*, that *Piccolomini* should thus use him.

Past conjecture it is, that he who could not be conquered, was there flaine, and for the principall manner, in this very fashion: in the possiblitiie and circumstances whereof, I for mine owne part doe rest satisfied. His death was knowne but to some few, of the great ones, (no not to those of his owne Army or Wing,) for 24 hours after: all beleeving, what was eitherby *Art* or *Error*, given out; how that hee was but carryed off wounded. Hence it is, that the Letters written the very same night, speake so doubtfully of his death.

The Kings
death concea-
led from his
owne Army.

death; or so hopefully of his life: and that those few words, which He is reported to have spoken, when hee lay on the ground a dying; were after mistaken to be uttered at *Weissenfels*, in that 6 houres, or 36 houres, which hee was said to have lived. The *Royall Corps*; was after a quarter of an houre, recovered by Colonell *Stollhansbe*: and in an Ammunition wagon (out of which the powder was purposely shifted) was it privately carried out of the Field unto *Weis-* The Body re-
covered.
sensels: for that his Coach was runne away among others, in the fright which the *Crabats* lately put the wagons to. And this long insertion concerning the manner of the Kings death, I confess to be rather *seasonable*, then *methodicall*: an *Histo-* The Authors
rian (I know') would rather have referred all this, unto the excuse.
latter end of the Combate. But for that I have still obser-
ved, how curiously inquisitive men have beene, after the
manner of the Kings death: I supposed that an indeavour
to give content, in that kinde, would be no unseasonable di-
straction; (though the very heate and fiercest of the en-
counter in other parts, be a while deferred) to those that so
much longed for it: yea more, than for any other part of
the *Story*.

Returne we now into the *Battell*, and to the *Right Wing* againe. The mist that we before told you of; was not (by their owne side) judged to be any way prejudiciale, but ad-
vantageous rather unto the *Swedish*: seeing that the Imperialists who had now the better of it, were by the falling of this Mist so arrested, as that they pursued not the Retcar, which they had put the *Swedish* unto. The rumour likewise of the Kings death, made them so to clutter about the *Body*; that that also stayed them.

All this while were the foure Foot *Brigades* of the *Swe-
dish Battell*, pell-mell at it: and they (even by my *Spaniards* The Second
confession) gat ground a-pace of those Imperialists whom charge.
they had attacked. And now also did *Stollhansbe* (who cer-
tainoly had an *Item* given him of the Kings death, or great
danger, by *Craibbam*, *Saxon-Lauenburg*, or some other)

The Battell of Lutzen.

The Kings
Body recove-
red,

and the Impe-
rialists beaten
to the gal-
lowes,

charge so fiercely toward that very place, that he beat off the Imperialists, recovered the Kings Body: which he brought off naked; after it had beeene a full quarter of an houre in the enemies possession. And now was *Piccolomini*'s Regiment soundly peppered: the *Swedes* both Foote and Horse after as houres fight,beating all the Imperialists along before them: till they had driven them to the very gallowes, which you see behind them. And now did the *Swedes* get possession of these 7. peeces of Ordnance which you see together at the letter *F*, under the number 50, which was *Piccolomini* Horse Regiment. These Ordnance were the easier to be taken, for that they played not, *Walsteins* Powder-Wagons were by mischance blowne up so that his Cannon were scarce heard of, all the day after.

And thus ended the *second Charge*: for by this time was the mist become so extraordinary, and by the smoake so thickned: as the *Swedes* could not see how to pursue their advantage. And here was the mist,become as beneficiall to the Imp. as it had bin favourable before,unto the *Swedes*. In this time fell there so terrible an affrightment in the Imperiall Army; that 1000. or 1500. Dutch Horse, ranne all away together. One of them was by a Gentleman of our nation (then prisoner in their Reere) over-heard to say: Oh, I know the King of *Sweden* well enough, I have served him; he's best at the latter end of a day. But the chiefeft fright was among the Ladies, the Captaines wives, and other women, then behind the Army. Many Gentlewomen gat out of their Coaches, cut asund the harness, and mounted stradlings upon the bare horse backs, and away they spudded among the soldiers. Now went the Wagon horses and the Ordnance horses to it; all were ridden away with. Divers women and children, were there trodden to death: nor would the Horsemen turne head, notwithstanding they heard the charge pre-sently againe renewed, and those about the *Mills*, all this time at it: till they were gotten over a Passe, 4 or 5. English miles from the place of Battell. The fright so pursued them, though no-body else did: that comming to this Passe, the Officers
drw-

drew out their swords, and flasht and beat off the souldiers, to give them way to get over it. There were at least 4 or 5000. people of them, and they quartered themselves confusely up and downe in the villages which the Boores had forsaken : nor durst they ever returne into the Battell. Amongst these was my Author carried away : from whom I learned it.

After a little pause, the Count of *Pappenheim* with his *Pappenheim* Horse and Dragooneers, arrived; whom some will need have, renewing the charge ; to have beeene in person at the beginning of the Battell. By his comming, was the charge thereabouts renewed. He put himself into the Imperiall *Left Wing*, (which was most distressed, and which had beeene reserved for him) to be opposite to the *Swedish Right Wing*; where hee supposed the King in person had commandd. Iust as he was ordering his is slaine. Horse, he was strucke with a bullet of a *Falconet*, or small *Sling-peece* about the shoulder ; of which he dyed presently: even soone as he was taken downe from his horse, to have beeene carried unto *Leipsich*. This was a brave fighting Gentleman : whose body was by *Walenstein* carried unto *Prague* ; where it was to be seene publickly. The Emperour (as a little *French Relation* that I have, affirmeth) had newly sent the *Collar of the Golden Fleece* unto him and *Walenstein*: which honour before ever he received, he was in the place where he shoulde have worne his *Order*, thus dubbed with a *Sling-peece*. He had made his *Will*, a little before : had shryven himselfe and communicated at a *dry Mass*: and mad this short *Testament* upon it. His *Soule*, he commanded to *God*; his *Body* (if he were slaine) to the Emperour : and his wife and children, unto *Walenstein*.

He being shot, his Officers flocking about him, were heard to cry, ô our General is slaine, our Generall is slaine: immediately whereupon his Horse turned head, and ran out of the Battell without stroke-striking ; backe againe towards the *Wefer* and the *Lower Saxony*.

But the *Walsteiners*, whom *Pappenheims* comming had set on; fell to it closely: *Piccolomini* advanced, and *Tersica*,

The 3^d. charge. with their Cavallery, and the Foote-Regiments^s seconded them with extremity of Resolution. And now began the sorest, the longest, and the obstinatest conflict, that had beeene, since the King was killed. The charge was sustained by the Swedes, with much gallantry : and never was Battell better foughten : nor seldom have Battalions ever stood, amongst whom so much spoyle hath beeene committed. Full 2. hours, were they in hote Battell. On the Imperiall side was Picco-
A terrible onset *Lomini*, twice or thrice, shot, Sergeant Major *Brunner*, slaine ; and so was a young Count of *Walenstein* ; and if the old one were there, I wonder how he scap't pelting. The Abbot of *Fulda*, was at this charge also slaine : and thinke, then, how many Officers and common souldiers, was it likely that these great Commanders did take along, to waite upon them into the next world.

On the Swedes side, the chiefe of the spoyle light upon the 2. middlemost Brigades of Foote, belonging unto *Grave Needles* and Colonell *Winckle* : which you see at the numbers 9. and 10. The Imperialists charged with so much fury, and with Battalions of 2. or 3000. in a Regiment : that they by fine force drove the Swedes to the retreat, in the plaine field, and (as the most say) even then recovered their 7. peeces of Ordnance. *Grave Needles*, Colonell of the *Life-guards* (which is the *yellow Regiment*) was there shot a little above the knee : of which being carried off spoyled, he after dyed. Out of this Brigade, did the Imperialists carry away 7. Colours: and to tell the troth, the Kings owne company which served here among the *Guards*, lost their owne Ensigne or *Standard Royall* too. He that had carried the Colours, was after seene with his sword in his hand : but his clowte was missing.

Colonell *Winckles Blew Regiment*, likewise, found as hard treatment. Himselfe (brave man) was shot in the arme a little above the elbow, and in the hand, and carried out of the Battell. His Lieutenant *Casper Wolff*, was slaine upon the place, and most of his Colours taken. These 2. Brigades, were
of

of the flower of the Army : old souldiers of 7. or 8. yeeres service, (the most of them) and whom the King had there placed, for that he most relied on them. These old *Blades*, stood to their Armies, stoutly ; and the adverse writers confess, That their dead bodies now covered the same ground, which living they had defended. These were old beaten souldiers, indeed, but it was so long since they had beene last beaten, that they had by this time forgotten how to runne away. This is the reason that they were so shattered : that when towards night, they were to have faine on againe ; both these Brigades put together, could not make one Squadron strong: which is but the third part of one of them. By this you see, that 5. of 6. were there killed or wounded.

The *Swedes Brigade*, marked with the number 8 fared something better, because neere unto the Horse : and yet there came not above 400. off, alive or unwounded. Duke *Bernards Brigade*, marked with 11 was something more out of Gun-shot: for that next the Horse of the *Left Wing*. Yet here was Colonel *Wildestein* shot in the breast, of which he after died : Duke *Bernards Lieutenant-Colonel Winckler*, being slaine upon the place. In this sore bickering, the spoyle on the Imperiall side, fell mostly upon old *Bruners* and young *Walenssteins* Regiments, both which were here killed, with full halfe, if not 2. thirds of the souldiers. These Regiments performed their duties so valiantly, and *Walenstein* himselfe tooke such speciall notice of them; that he along time after (if not still) maintained them in his owne house at *Prague* for it. *Hindersons Reserve* of Foote, in the meane time, which you see at number 37. had also their share in the knocking : one of the Offices and uses of the *Reserve* being, still to supply and seconde where most need is, with fresh men toerne up the holes, and stop up the gaps of the slaughtered. And whereas those 4. *Brigades* of the *Van* had so terribly beeene shattered : General-Major *Knphausen*, had out of his care sent up these 2. *Brigades* of the Count of *Thurn*, and the Colonell *Mitzlaff*, which you see at numbers 28. and 29.

to

to relieve them. After a while , hee sent them up those 4. Squadrons of Horse, which you see at the numbers 33, 34, 35, 36. who so well (altogether) restored the encounter; that the Imperialists began to give ground: which the Swedes
 lists beaten off: so farre pursued, till they had recovered the 7. peeces againe, and those 4. others which you see at the letters *F F*, to the 11 peeces taken.

Looke we now aside , to see what was done in the *Reere* and *Left Wing*, by *Kniphausen* and Duke *Bernard*. Generall-Major *Kniphausen* having sent 2. Brigades of his 4. and 4. Squadrons of Horse , to the reliefe of the *Vangard*: sent also his other 2. Horse Squadrons , at the numbers 30, 32. commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Lieutenant of Baron *Haffkirch*, unto Duke *Bernard*. As for the other 2. Brigades of Foote, (his owne and *Bosens*) which you see at 27. and 28. together with *Oems* his Reserve of Horse, to be found at number 38. these did *Kniphausen* stll keepe by him, in the *Reere* of the *Battell*.

Duke *Bernard* had as hard a Chapter of it , as any man, against the Imperialists *Right Wing* . at the *Wind-Mills*, and (surely) had the most renowned *Don Quixote* beene there, there had beene exercise enough for his valour, at these *Wind-Mills*. Soberly , this was the hardest Post, for advantage of situation, all the field over: and Count *Coloredo*, as well maintained it against him. Never man did more gallantly behane himselfe, then Duke *Bernard* did that day : sure it is, (and himselfe avoucht it) that first and last, in this and other places, hee charged 12. severall times , one after another: any of which was a more desperate piece of service, then all *Heracles* 12. labours ; bate me but his going to Hell to fetch out *Cerberus*. And *Coloredo* gave Duke *Bernard* leaue to charge, all : he had so good an advantage , of the 2. ditches and the *Wind-Mills*; that hee would not scarce offer upon Duke *Bernard*.

and
what Duke
Bernard.

His great
valour.

The brave young Duke , pressing on in the beginning of the fight , had set the towne of *Lutzen* on fire : his reason being

being, that seeing if he would get the *Wind-Mills*, hee must with the end of his *Wing*, even touch (as it were) the very walles of the towne. Should *Coloredo*, then, have first filled those walles with Muskettiers; they must needs have so fore-
ly galled his Horsemen, that there had beene no comming neere: nor could Horse and Pistols, have done any service against walles and Muskettiers. In one of these *Charges*, did *Coloredo* so thunder upon Duke *Bernard*, that the valiant Prince thought it not un-souldier-like done, to shelter himselfe behind the *Millars House*, which you see at the letter *N*.

All this time (as wee told you) did Major *Kniphausen* keep his two *Brigades* and *Oems* his *Reserve*, together un-engaged: doing no more with them, then faire and softly advance them towards the enemy; at such time as he saw the *Brigades* of the *Van*, to get any ground of them. The distance of his *Reere* from the *Front*, was about 600. paces: and at that scantling hee still kept himselfe, behind the other. This was no small occasion of the winning of the Battell: seeing that so often as any of the *Van* were disordered and put to the retreat; they with him, still, found a whole great Body together, unbroken: by the sight of which they resumed new courage, and were set in order againe.

And very glad was Duke *Bernard* when in the next breaking up of the Mist, he came and found *Kniphausen* in so good order: whom (as he openly professed) hee feared to have found all to pieces. For now, betwixt 3. and 4. a clocke, (which was a little before Sun-set) did the Mist breake up; and there was a faire halfe-houre after it. At which time Duke *Bernard* going abroad, to over-view the posture and countenance of the Army: (which since his hearing of the Kings death, the mist and smoake had not suffered him to discover any thing of:) he came now along by the *Battell* unto the *Right Wing*; speaking to the Officers and souldiers, and encouraging them to a new on-set. Plainely he found the

whole Army (except Kniphausen's part) in no very good order : which he and Kniphausen (who tooke much good paines likewise about it) did their best to reduce them to. When the *Ward* was given for a new *Charge* : alas ! *Comrade* (said the poore souldiers one to another) *must we fall on again ! Come sayes the other* (embracing him,) *Courage* ; if we must , lets doe it *bravely* , and make a day of it. As Duke Bernward was leading on : the Imperiall *Generalissimo* sent his two Colonels *Tersica* and *Piccolomini*, to discover in that cleere weather, what the *Swedes* were a doing : who brought his Excellency word againe , that they were t'allied together about the Wood, and in very good order advancing towards him.

The fourth Charge.

The Imperia-
lists beaten to
the Wind-mills.

This (no doubt) made the Imperialists hearts qualee ; to thinke upon the terror of a fourth *Charge*. And now could the *Swedes* discover the Imperiall Horse, retreating in indifferent good order towards the *Wind-Mills* : whereupon they bringing forward 10. pieces of Cannon , and turning those likewise upon them , which were before taken : they gave the Imperiall Horse such a rowling *Salvee* of great Ordnance , and charged so upon it , that they put them into disorder. And here (as my Spanish Relator saie) did the *Generalissimo* light upon a slight filipp : by a favourable Musket bullet , namely , which made no wound ; but left a blue remembrance onely upon him. That hee was indeede shot thorow the Coate , was at *Prague* reported : though some would even there say privately , that hee was in no such danger.

And now were the Imperialists beaten roundabout , even to the very *Wind-Mills* : the *Swedes* being Masters of the ground, that they shoulde the others out of. But inst now a little before Sun-set , fel the fatal mist againe : which so hastned on the night , that the *Swedes* could not well see , which way to pursue their enemies. Duke Bernward in his comming backe was thus heard to say , *Mercifull God ! how fat this night , wee had even now gotten the victory. Hence went*

went he backe againe over all the Battalions; to his owne Post
againe: towards which, he now perceaved the Imperialists to
be making.

And now by Sunne-setting, was all the Field cleere of the
Imperialists, excepting onely about the *Wind-Mills*: and there,
plainly, were both *Coloredoes* and Duke *Bernards* men, faine
off one from another: like *2. Duellers* leaning on their swords,
to take breath againe. Certainly, they had so bangd one another,
that neither of both were in order: but either party shot
at adventure right forward, and let the bullet find his owne
way, as it could, thorow that night of smoake and mistiness.
Those Muskettiers which (we told you) were lodged in the
mudd-wal'd gardens, were seene to give fire, give fire, continually:
but no men to be discerned. And the *Swedes* at adven-
ture shot at them againe: and as at night they got ground, they
stорmed into the gardens; as if they had beene so many Castles.
Here the next day, were a many found dead: 300. in one of
them.

And iust in the edge of the evening, when the *Swedes*
well hoped all had beene finished: had Duke *Bernard* fresh
word brought him, that *Pappenheims* Foote were even now
arrived, from *Hall*; and were beginning a fresh *Charge*, a The 5th. charge,
bout the *Wind-Mills*. Thus ranne the *Word* over the Army,
Pappenheims Foot are come, *Pappenheims* Foot are come.
Thus the *Swedes* beleeved: though Captaine *Foilding* assures
me, that the Imperialists at *Prague*, would never acknow-
ledge it, that the *Pappenheimmers* came at all into the
Battell.

Now was all the service, (after halfe an houres silence on
both sides,) turned unto the *Wind-Mills*. The Imperialists
cources, like the throwes of a dying body, struggled hard, at
the last cast, for life: and made, for the time, as fierce a Charge
of it, as any had the day before passed. To withstand this,
now does *Kniphausen* bring on his *2. fresh Brigades*: with
whom are the other *2.* of *Thurns* and *Mitzlauffs* conjoyned,
that he had before sent to the relife of the *Kangard*: which,
indeed,

The Battell of Lutzen.

indeed, had not so cruelly beeene shattered. Now also Duke *Cernard* r'allying all the Horse together, advanced to the *Charge*. The Imperialists had, anew, put downe some more Muskettiers into the *crosse ditch or Boundary of Lands*, marked with *H*? which not a little troubled the *Swedish*. Once or twice, did they offer to force that *Trench*, and to *Storme* over it: but it was so troublesome and dangerous in the darke, that they did but over-tumble one another, and were faine to keepe on the other side of it, to bring on some Muskettiers, and from thence to give their vollyes. The best of it was, that it was not above 100. paces distant from the *High-way*; close behind which, the Imperialists were ranged. That which most galled the Imperialists, was the *Swedish* *Ordinance*: which on the *Right hand Flancke* of them, and on the neerer side of the *High-way*; were now turn'd upon them. This most cruell and hot fight, continued till about 5, or 6 a clocke in the evening: much about which time, the *Walfri-ners* or *Pappenheimers*, or both together; fell off in the darke, and gave it quite over.

The Imperia-
lists give it o-
ver,

and so the Bat-
tell ended.

And thus ended this long, cruell, bloody, and bravely fought *Battell*: which in continual exercise, in one place or other, (or at least with small intermissions) had lasted from 9. in the morning untill this time. Eight or nine long houres, was every man in danger of a sudden death: when at other times, he would have thought himselfe ill handled; by so long a *Fit of an Ague*. I have cast the whole Battell, into 5. greater and more remarkable *Charges*: not because there were no more, but for that these were most eminent. And yet, perchance, were not these so distinct *Acts* of this *Tragedy*, that they might be said to have begun just now (because the whole Battell was but one continuall *Charge*, some where or other) but for that the greater *Heates* and *Executions*; were much about these times, and in those manners, that I have specified. These *Charges* mostly concerne the *Battell* and *Right Wing*: for of the *Left*, I have not such particular Intelligence. If the valour of particular and deserving Gentlemen, cannot here

here be described : it is for that the malignity of that envious Mist, would not suffer it to be discerned. Assuredly, there hath beene no such cruell Fight, that hath yeelded so few observations. The Imperialists being marcht off; the *Swedissh* (gladder of victory, then of enemies) had neither eyes nor wills good enough, to pursue the *Retreate* upon them : especially over such troublesome passages, as the Ditch, the *Hig-way*, and its *Ditch*: the *Wind-Mills*, and their *Ordnance*: and the Gardens with their Muskettiers in them. Nor had the Imperialists, after such an *afternoones drinking*; any hearty good stomacks to such a supper, as were likely to cost them such a *Reckoning*. Beating their Drummes, therefore, after a while; they sent away their Baggage and Ammunition, and made their retreate towards *Leipsich*.

The *Swedissh* at first hearing of the Imperiall Drummes, knew not what to make of it : but doubted that their enemies meant to retire into the next Dorps; and what they would doe to morrow, they knew not. Now were Duke *Bernard*, *Kniphauzen* and some others, in consultation what to doe? Whither to lye all night in the Field, to expect another Charge in the morning, or to carry off their sicke and wounded men, and to retire the Army towards *Wesselfels*. Colonel *Hinderson* had order in the meane time, to burne the carriages of those 11. peeces of *Ordnance*, which were taken from the Imperialists : because in the night time, the *Swedes* despaired of drawing them along with them.

But *Walensteins* selfe had already yeelded up the *Field* (and the *Victory* consequently) unto the *Swedissh*: and by this accident, put an end to their doubtfull consultation. The *Generalfissimo*, (already upon his retreate to *Leipsich*,) had given order for all the Regiments to follow after him. Hereupon, a Ruitter or Horseman of the Baron of * *Hoffkirchs* Regiment, was sent to find his Colonell, and to give him order to goe after the *Generalfissimo*. This Horseman (it so chanced) had in the darke stumbled upon the *Swedissh* Colonell *Oems Reserve of Horse*: which having not beeene brought to fight all the day,

* Brother to
that *Hoffkirch*,
that served on
the Kings side.

The Battell of Lutzen.

was now ordered to make the *Retreace*, and to keepe the *Watch* for the whole Army. *Qui va là, who goes there? Whom seeke you?* saies Oems *Sentinell*: *Hoffkirchs Regiment*, saies the *Ruiter*: Here tis, saies the crafty *Sentinell*; and with that brings him to his *Colonel*. To him he told, that his *Generalissimo* was gone to *Leipsich*, and had commanded all to follow him. This being discovered to Duke *Bernard* and *Kniphausen*, they concluded the *Victory* to be their owne; resolv'd to keepe the *Field*; and sent to countermand Coloneill *Hinderson*: who had already burnt one or two of the Enemies *Carriages*.

The *Victory* was then published thorow out the Army: and *Word* given, to stay all night upon the *Field of Battell*. All this night was there a pittifull crying heard, of the dying and wounded on both sides: none being able to find, know, or relieve his friend or *Cannade* in the darkenesse. Twas a frosty cold night: in which many a braue man dyed of the anguish of his wounds miserably, who might otherwise have beeene cured: they being frozen to death, by the morrow morning. The *angish* and *dolour* of a *wound*, is the *complaint* that *Nature* makes, for a *remedie*: but here alas! the confused *complaining* of the wounded, hindred many a man from his friends hearing of him, who might else have given him *remedie*.

The enemies Cannon taken, enemais Cannon, upon their *Batteries* by the *Windmills*, which together with those already taken, made up some 20. or 21. Peeces: whereof 9. were *Demi-cannon*, and the rest *Field-peeces*. By which fewnesse you may collect, that even *Walenstein* was halfe surprized: whe (doubtlesse) otherwise, would more sufficiently have beeene provided. No Wagons, either of *Baggage* or *Ammunition*, were left behind: seeing *Walenstein* had time enough all night, to carry off them with him. Nor were there any prisoners of either fide taken, (either for numbers, or persons of quality) worth speaking of. The numbers of the slaine upon the place of Battell, is best

best collected by the burials. The *Swedes* for their parts , af-firme to have buried next day , betwixt 2. and 3000. men: of
which the common souldiers were buried in the *bed of ha-*
nour , the *Field* they dyed in , being put together by heapes
into the ditches by the *High-mayes-side* , and earth cast over
them The Officers, were buried in *Lutzen* Church-yard with
some more military solemnity. The Impesiall carkasses were
buried by the Boores of *Saxony*: which kept tale of 3530.
bodies by them enterred : besides which, there were some to
be seene unburied a moneth after.

But besides these of the Imperialists slaine upon the place ,
the Boores had knockt downe, God knpwes how many hun-
dred souldiers , (2. or 3000. say some) as they fled away
stragling about the Countrey. And the souldiers were even
with the Boores for it : for that in their flight towards *Bo-*
hemia ; some would goe out purposelly upon Partees , to kill
Boores : one Captaine being heard to professe , That he had
that day kill'd fifty. And thus , both of Boores and sould-
ers , there might perchance be 2. or 3000. slaine after the
Battell. The *Wounded* , were as many more as the slaine: but
how many of them dyed after of their hurts , comes not
within our numbers. The *High Dutch Relation* annexed to
the *Figure* of the *Battell* (which *Gallobelgicus* hath transla-
ted into his *Booke*) mentions 9000. but *Fame* (I beleeve)
kills more then the *Sword*, ever. Halfe of the *Swedish* Slaugh-
ter, light upon the *Lifeguards* and *Winckles* Regiments : of
which more were carried off spoyled , then were slaine upon
the place.

True it is, that when 2. daies after, the *Swedes* overviewed
their Army ; they wanted about 4000. of their former num-
bers : but into those are the wounded to be reckoned, which
were not then able to muster. The reason now , why the
slaughter was no greater, in such a long and hard fought *Bat-*
tell; was, for that there was no chase after the Victory : for
there vses to be the terriblest of the execution.

Of great Commanders slaine on both sides ; these onely
doe

Numbers of the
slaine.

Men of quality
slaine on both
sides.

doe I find mention of. On the Kings side. First, the Kings Maiesty himselfe: whose death is never enough to be lamented: and to whom the more ingenuous Imperialists at Prague were heard to give this honourable Testimony, *That he was the bravest Enemy, and the best Captaine, that ever was in Christendome.* Next to the King, was Grave *Needes*, *Nicholas Count of Wefenburg*, Sergeant-Major-General *Isler*, and Colonell *Gerdorff*: with divers Lieutenant-Colonells, Majors, Rit-masters and Captaines, whom I have not heard named. On the Imperiall side slaine, The Abbot of *Fulda* by his place a Prince of the Empire. 2. the Count of *Pappenheim*, 3. Count *Berthold Wulenstein*, 4. Sergeant-Major-Generall *Brenner*. 5. *Lo, Westrumb, Lan, Comarga, Witzelb, and Foves*: all (as I heare) Colonels. Together with *Borda, Taxheim, Lampert, and Cammerhoff*. Lieutenant-Colonels: besides Sergeant-Majors, Captaines of Horse and Foote, and other Officers. Whereas therefore you have heard of *Merede* and *Gallau*, to be wounded to death; Ile assure you they were not in the Battell, nor was *Holck* wounded to death, nor at all: nor *Pappenheim* cut off by the middle, nor *Isolani* slaine: which man is still Colonell Generall of the *Crabats*; of which nation himselfe is. Our 2. Countrimen, were his prisoners, and they saw him at *Prague*: and describe him to be, an old beardless man, full of the palfie; a Gentleman of much valour, courtesie, and extraordinary hardinesse of body. As this is true, so beleive the rest of that Writer, that told you of the death of those great Imperialists.

The Imperiall Ordnance, whose carriages had beeene burned, were at the *Swedes* going towards *Weissenfels* Novem. 7th. slipt under the Castle walls of *Lutzen*: into which they put a garrison of 200. Muskettiers. For the drawing away of the rest, every Regiment was charged to take care of one: and to lend horses for the doing of it. That night went the Kings body to *Weissenfels*: where they found themselves to have gotten but a dolefull and a wofull victory: losing that incomparable Conqueror, who was alone worth 2. Armies. The

The Royall Body, was carried to *Nasnburg* to be embalmed: after which when the Armies went againe into the field, the dead King was carried along in his Chariot, marching betwixt the Horse and the Foot, in the middle of the Army. This so long continued, untill upon the comming of the Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, the *Corps* was sent with a mourning Convoye towards *Spandon*, in his Brother of *Brandenburgs* is convoyed country. And thus dyed this great *Deliverer*: which is a higher and a more holy Title, then that of *Cesar*, or of *Conqueror*. Thus dyed he with a victory: which had he expected but 3 dayes longer, he had obtained without a Battell. So confident was the enemy, that the King never durst have attempted them: that the *Generalissimo* had even already given out Orders, for the dispersing of his Army to their winter Quarters. This is sure: for besides that it is intimated in my *Spaniard Relation*: the Imperialists themselves freely at *Prague* confessed it. Then had the King falle in among them, as hee thought to have done, the 5th. of November. But He is dead: and that as heartily bemoaned of the *Germanes*, (to say of no more) as of his owne Subjects: who yet professe their losse to be unspeakable. And in both their *Chronicles*, shall his sacred memory be made immortall: and his Name shall ever live in their mouthes, glorified.

Speake we now a little, of the distemper in the Imperiall Army. When *Walenstein* first beate his Drummes, to retreat to *Leipsich*: he had purposed to have made no more then a faire retreat indeed of it. But no sooner did his men heare that signall: but they fell to running presently, without expecting further order for their *Rendez vous*. This fright was so great, that the most of them never came in order againe, till they recovered into *Bohemia*: yea even there, full three weekes after the Battell: were there divers multitudes of souldiers, and some almost whole Ensignes seene; then first enquiring after their fled Colonels: who had not yet seene their own Regiments. And this was not onely so, with a great many straglers; but even amongst those that were neerest

The Kings Body being embalmed:

into *Spandon*.

The flight, and
wonderfull
confusion a-
mong the im-
perialists.

about the *Generalissimo*: there was not a Regiment (scarce-
ly, if at all) that marcht or Quartered in any order; but strag-
gling up and downe in Dorps, as every man shifted. Once
did our Countrimen (that were carried away among them)
see 35. *Colours* of them together: but this was in *Bohe-
mia*; and the greatest shew that they had till that time seene
of them.

Divers Officers confessed, that they had lost 6000. men:
which others made more nice of, and professed to have lost
but 4000. And as freely withall did they confess, that had
the *Swedes* but sent off 1000. fresh Horse after them, they
might have cut all the whole Army to peeces. When in
their *Flight*, (*Retreat* is now too faire a word for them)
they came at night to any Quarter; their custome was to stay
still there, till some *Swedish* Horse were heard of, or discov-
ered to pursue them: of which though there appeared but
a troops of 40. they had order to halsten away after the
Generalissimo. This was the *Crabbes* worke commonly:
who beeing of the nimblest Horse; were still left last in
the Quarters, and to bring word of the comming of the
Enemy.

And yet durst these, afterwards at *Prague*, contend for it;
That they had as good of the *Day*, as the *Swedes*: for which
their Arguments were, that they kill'd the King; much about
as many men; and brought away almost 60 Ensignes. Had
they onely mentioned the King, their argument had beeene
better, then their other reasons can make it. Tis true indeed
that when our 2 Countrimen told Duke *Bernard* afterwards,
that they boasted to have taken so many *Ensignes*: nay (saies
he) thats too lowd: but they have indeed taken 45. and we
have 17 or 18. of their Colours. But, now, the losse of their
Cannon; their leaving the field unto their enemies: and their
right doane running away, when none pursued after them:
the Court of *Vienna* it selfe can never speake with honour
of it. And therefore, there was but a faint *Thanksgiving* made
for it: a few peeces shot off, but not a Bonfire that I heare
of:

They tooke
more Colours,
then the Swe-
des.

How the news
of the Battell,
was re-sent at
Vienna.

of: and that expreſſion rather for the death of the King, and to make the people; then for the Victory. The Victory, (abſolutely,) muſt all forraine and Neutral Historians, give unto the Swedes: which was ſuch a one, as would have made Austria quak't, had the King ſurviu'd it.

The Generaliſſimo having taken Sanctuary in Leipsich, there came the next day, ſome 1000. or 1500. Footemen to him: whereof ſome had Colours, and other ſome had lost them. These were the remainders of 40. Ensignes. A little after, came the Lieutenant-Fel.-Marſhall Holck, with the Sergeant-Major Generall, Count Ridolfo Coloredo, the Marquell of Grande, and ſome others of great quality. And now also came their Baggage-Wagons: waited upon with a Horse-Convoye. In the night about 6. a clocke, were all theſe commanded to Born, 14. miles onwards of the way, towards Bohemia: the Generall himſelfe within three houres and a halfe (the ſame night) following them. Holck ſtaid ſtill in Leipsich: who going away next day, delivered up the Keyes unto the Magistrates againe; with ſuch a like Complement. That he was now as good as his word, as it became every honest man to be. He hoped therefore, they would ſpeak nothing but honour of him: and show themſelves mercifull (as became good Christians) unto ſuch ſick and wounded, as he left in their towne behind him. That day, ſome 16. or 17. troopes of Horse paſſed by, in ſight of the City, with abundance of the Boores Cattle, going towards their Generaliſſimo.

The way of wa-
lensteins flight.

His Excellency, went not into Born, but Quartered that night hard by it. Thence went he to Altenburg: thence to Camitz: thence to Fravenſtein: thence thorow the Paffe of the Bohemer-Waldi unto Dornitz in Bohemia: 30. miles ſhort of Prague City. And now were the shattered troopes, diſperſed into their winter Quarters: Wallenſtein himſelfe with the remains of the 2. Favourite-Regiments, of young Wallenſtein, and old Breuer, going directly towards Prague City. These 2. Regiments, for their good ſervice at the

Battell, and their diligent attendance upon him in the flight : he ordered to waite upon him in his owne Palace ; and by Squadrons to keepe guard about him. They were as his meniall servants ; they had their allowance for a standing table in his Court ; his owne people served them : and hee himselfe sometimes would see they had their allowance. These were relieved, (that is changed) every 8. dayes : and then had every man 6. or 8. Bohemian dollars given him (each worth three shillings English) and their Wives or Wenches halfe as much.

Examples of Those Officers that did well in the Battell ; he at *New-yeeres-side* rewarded with Gold chaines ; with his owne Medall or Picture at them : some of them (to the great Lords) being set with Diamonds ; and worth 1000. ducats. Thus were all the Goldsmiths in *Prague* set a worke , upon his *New-yeeres-gifts*. And whereas there was a dispute betwixt *Holck* and *Piccolomini* , whose Regiment was that which charged, when the King was slaine ; he adjudged it to *Piccolomini* : rewarding him with as much confiscated lands for it , as was better then 100000. pound *Sterling*. *Holck* hee made Felt-Marshall , in place of *Pappenheim* : and he is now the man, that can doe all in all with him. And whereas the King of *Denmark* (whose subiect *Holck* is) sent to command him home, under penaltie of confiscating his goods : let him (saies *Wulenstein*) Ile bestow ten times so much upon him : giving him his choice therupon, of any of these four Cities, *Teplitz*, *Brix*, *Sauff*, and *Diewitz* : the meanest of which had 16 or 18. pretty villages , belonging to the Lordship of it. And thus much, of the doings of the Imperialists, both in their flight and in *Bohemia* ; have I learned from Captaine *Edward Fielding*.

Those that had done cowardly in the Battell , he said nothing of : but as they came to *Prague*, hee seafes and imprisons them. Of these by Christmas time, there were already 18. apprehended. Of whom, some were Counts and Barons: notwithstanding which, he February 4th. following, smot off

off eleven^o of their heads upon a publike Scaffold. Some in^r and severity.
ferior people , he hanged and headed in a baser fashion : o-
thers of their names , he caused to be hang'd upon the Gal-
lowes, and to be poasted up for cowards. One piece of mirth
fell now out, as it were to vary this scene of Martiall severity.
A young Colonell being brought upon the Scaffold, (which
was iu^t before Walensteins windo v) began alowd ; *I come
bere to dye, for running away after my Generalissimo* : but the
Drummes st ucke up , and the Trumpets sounded upon it ;
so that the short breath'd *Orator* could bee no further list-
ned to:

And thus leave I our great Imperiall *Generalissimo* : who keeps, The State
he keeps,
keeps a *State* in *Prague* : no Maiesty in *Christendome*, com-
parable to him. About *Christmas*, was there a feare of Duke
Bernards falling into *Bohemia* : whereupon such a puzzle
there was amongst them , that *Potents* or *Commands* were
presently given out, for the drawing of 6000. men towards
the Frontiers. So easie was it to have conquered *Walenstein*,
and *Bohemia*.

And now for that the contrarily affected may not say, that
my Intelligence is particular, or all from one side : I will here
afford them the *Relation* made by the *Spaniard* Gentleman
before quoted ; fairly, barely, without additions or altera-
tions translated : the originall whereof I am ready to com-
municate unto any ingenuous Gentleman. Two or 3. other
Relations (I confess) I have in *French* , printed at *Brussels* :
which are so ignorantly and insolently done , that even that
side may be ashamed to give credit to them. I have taken no-
thing out of *le Soldat Smedois*; for that ther's little but words
in him. Two or three *High-Dutch* pieces, and some *Latime*
also I have by me, as foolish as the former : but this onely
of the *Spaniard*, I have thought worthy your perusal.

THe morning began to peepe, when newes came that the King now altogether in Battell-ray, did march up towards us : whereupon His Excellency presently cast his Army into that forme, which appeareth in the Figure, leaving a little way on the right hand some *Wind-Mills*, according to the disposition and necessity of the situation. The King had in the meane while, put his Army right opposite to ours; not full distant the reach of a Cannon: approaching with his *left Wing* neere upon *Lutzen*; and with the *right*, touching upon a little Wood: which also was very neere united with his *Front*. In this order did his Excellency stay, till the King should begin to moove: we having a small ditch along the *Front* of our Army. The King mooved soone after, with all his forces: making a shew that he was resolv'd to invest us, some-while upon one side, some-while upon the other. At length, he set upon us in the *Front*: and sent his *Cavallery* of the *right Wing*, to overturne ours. By reason hereof, we were forced to retire our *Baggage* which was upon our *left Wing*, quite behind all our Army, to the end it shold not be cut off from us. Thus began the Encounter with equall order, and continual shot of Cannon; which did on each side mutuall hurt: every one striving to get forward, thorow the midst of mortality and slaughter of men, for to drive the enemy out of his place. The Earle of *Pappenheim* came in at the very beginning of the fight, with some Regiments of Horse and Dragooneers: whom he instantly carried into the *left Wing*; where it appear'd the King did charge with most obstinacy. And here the Earle giving the entet with his accustom'd valour, was in the very beginning mortally wounded by a Fauconett: so that being taken off his Horse to be brought to *Leipsich*, he ended his life, before his Iourney: This valerous Cavalier having sacrificed himselfe to Gods service and the Emperours, in the most important occasion which ev: r hath off:rd it selfe to benefit the Catholike Religion, and the whole *House of Austria*.

In the meane time the *Front* of the enemies Army, got ground

ground apace, and with a notable Resolution: our Artillery being never able to disorder it though many a shot was made upon it: and being now come neere the ditch which was made on our side, a great number of Muskettiers was let downe into it, from whence they gave us many good *Salves*. But especially did they powre lead, into the Regiment of the Colonell *Piccolomini*: Who after he had beeene exposed a while, to the discretion of those Muskettiers; determined to set upon them, and to drive them out of the Ditch. And this he did accordingly, with so fortunate a successe; that if he had beeene seconded by other Regiments, no doubt but that part of the Enemies Army would have beeene utterly rowted. But there being none to backe him, and he fearing to be cut off from the Army, (if hee went too farre forward) relolv'd to set with might and maine upon a Regiment * of the Enemies, which he also utterly defeated, leaving it stretched out upon the ground, in the same manner as it had stood before ordered in Squadrons. After *Pappenheim* was wounded; the Cavalry which he had led, never so much as turn'd their faces against the Enemy: whereby advantage was given him to get the better of our Foot also on the *left side*. For all this, on the *right side* was the fight maintained, with equall and all possible obstinacy: at which time, a newes being spread of the Kings death, it seemed that the Enemies Army began to give backe by little and little, under the favour of a very thicke mist which was risen: insomuch that at first, it was not possible to find where it stood. Hereupon, for the present, the victory was held to be ours. We being desirous to goe forward to seeke out the Enemy, intelligence was had, that he went to rejoyn his Squadrons about the Wood side: for which reason his Excellence sent his Colonels *Terresa* and *Piccolomini* to take more exact notice of what was rumor'd. They being past on a little forward towards the Wood, saw the Enemy in full Battell-ray, marching up towards us: in as good an order as at the first. It was now very neere night; and our Army not well joyned together:

* *Winkler.*

Then was he
not in his List-
ter, as Le Soldat
Suedois geeres
him.

In these four
numbers, lyes
the chiefest of
my Authors
nisi intellige-
nce, or par-
tiality. He is an
adversary to the
Swedish and I
pray you so to
understand him

together : necessity constrain'd us to make a stay in our owne place, neere the *Wind mills*, which the Earle *Coloredo* defended valerously. He being charg'd by forces, incomparably much greater, should have beeene forc'd to quit the *Mills*, had not his Excellency sent to his succour the Colonels *Tercica* and *Piccolomini* with their Cavalry, to sustaine the shooke of those Foote ; as in effect they did. It was now upon shutting in of the Evening, when the Enemy beginning afresh a round *Salvee* of his Cannon, did notably annoy our troopes and was like to have done more harme, had not the Night come on. His Excellency, when hee least feard such an accident, (being now in the *Front* of the Regiment of *Piccolomini*, speaking with him) was hurt in the leftarme with a Musket Bullet: but (as we may say) almost miraculously : since it did him no other harme, then to leave a blacke and blue marke behind it. His Excellency shewed that day no ordinary valour, riding up and downe in the *Front* of all the Regiments ; where from time to time necessity call'd him : encouraging with his presence, every body to the accomplishment of their duty : being accompanied by the two Princes, brothers of the great Duke of *Tuscany*; of whom the one call'd *Don Francisco*, lost his Horse he fale on by a Cannon Bullet. The Colonels *Lo* and *Camargo* dyed on the place. *Piceolomini* came off with 10. Muskettado's, five wher-of, wounded him in divers parts of the body; th' other five went no further then his armour. He lost foure Horses under him, and three hundred of his best souldiers : His Sergeant-Major, two Captaines, and most of his Officers were hurt. It is thought, that of our side, there dyed neere upon three thousand ; but a great many more wounded. Of the enemies side, were lost neere sixe thousand, and as many more wounded : it having beeene the most bloody and obstinate Battell, which ever had beeene fought in *Germany*: especially in so small a number of the Imperialists which came not to twelue thousand, where on the other side, the Enemies Forces amounted to above twenty thousand.

At

At length, the fight being ended by reason of the night; his Excellency, was not resolved whether he shoulde keepe his army in that place, or else to retire to *Leipsich*. But having heard the opinion of all his greatest Officers, he determined, with their good liking, to retire to *Leipsich*; notwithstanding the arrivall of five Regiments * of *Pappenheim*, now newly come from *Hall*. Because it was probably feared, that thorow the wearinesse of the souldiers, the number of the wounded, the excessive cold; and which was most materiall, left thorow want of provisions in that place, the souldiers might scatter about the neighbour townes to provide themselves against their wants; and in the morning if need should be, none would be found ready for service. Hereupon our Army after three houres in the night, began to march towards *Leipsich*: who not being able for want of Horses and Boyes (who in the beginning of the Battell, were either kild or hurt) to carry off their Ordnance, left it there in the field; As the Enemy did likewise his owne, * marching on towards *Namburg*.

His Highnesse sent immediately for the Baron *Gallas*, who joynd with him in *Bennis* with the forces he had: He sent likewise to fetch Monsier *Altringer* to come to him with his men, with an intent to make another grosse, wherewith to goe and defeat the troopes of the Enemy, which were left a-foote. His Excellency now being in *Frawenstein*, upon the Confines of *Saxony* and *Bohemia*, intends from thence to goe to *Prague*.

In the beginning of the Encounter of both Armies, *Innocentius Bucela* Comrade of *Piccolomini*, knew the King; who lay hurt and dying upon the ground. Whereof having given notice to the Colonell; he went with him and ten more, to see the body which was yet quivering: and while they were about fetching of it away, a troope of the Enemies charging, forced them to retire. The noise of his death, was presently scattered abroad; yet belief was not fully given to it, by reason of the relation which some prisoners made, as that the

* This sets the report right for both sides. The Swedes say that the *Pappenheimers* came up in the night; and the Imperialists affirme that they came not to the Battell.

* In these two Relations of the Swedes leaving their Cannon, and *Gallas* his joyning, he had false Intelligence. But this shewes that *Gallas* was not in the Battell.

The Battell of Lutzen.

King was but hurt, and carried off in a close Coach, following his white Standard. But an Astrologer entertained by his Excellency, being taken prisoner accidentally in the Battell, and ransomed eight dayes after; brought undoubted newes, that the King was wounded with a Musket in his arme and two Pistoll bulletts, and faine downe dead in the field.

The death of the King halfe verified the Prognostication of an Astrologer named *David Herlicius of Stargard in Pommerani*; who said some moneths before, that the King should never passe over the River of *Elve* againe: which he interpreting to his benefit; beleeved he should become Master of the Empire, (as among his *Collegiates* he was already reputed,) and cease to returne into *Swodland*, where is nothing else but craggy mountaines. But God who disposeth all things, hath made vaine the issue of that hope, and given us to understand, that to him alone is reserved the disposing of Empires.

You have no word here, of the Imperialists arrogating of the Victory to their partie.

Printed with all necessary priviledge. In *Lichon*. By *Antonio Alvarez*. 1633. Fibr. 16.

THE

THE EXPLICATION OF THE SEVERALL LETTERS

and *Numbers*, in the Figure of the
Battell of Lutzen.

The Imperiall Army.

A **VV** *Alensteins* Right Wing of Horse.

B His Battell or Body of the Foot: in the middle whereof is one Horse Regiment, of *Piccolomini's*.

C His Right Wing of Horse.

D The Towne of *Lutzen*.

E The Wind-mills: upon the higher ground and hills whereof, he had planted some Ordnance.

F Three other places, where hee had planted Ordnance.

G The Gallowes.

H A dry Ditch or Boundary for lands, which *Waldenstein* made to serve him for a Breft-worke, to lodge Muskettiers in.

The Kings Army.

I The Right Wing of the Kings Vant-guard; consisting of sixe Horse Squadrons, lined with five Bodies of Muskettiers. This was led by the King himselfe: whose place is over the letter I.

K The Left Wing of the *Swedijh* Vant-guard, composed of Horse and Muskettiers, like the Right Wing. Of this, Duke *Bernard* had the leading: whose place is right over the letter K.

X 2

L The

L The Fluss-graben.

M The Kings Battell or Body of his Army; consisting of 8 Brigades of Foot: whereof 4 were in the Van, and 4 in the Reere. Each Brigade, hath 6 Peeces of Cannon before it.

N The Millers house.

O The towne of Churzitz.

The Numbers of the *Van*, or first *Front*.

The Right Wing.

1 The Finland Horse, commanded by Colonell Stolhanshe.

2 The West-Goths Horse Regiment.

3 The Ingermanlanders All these sixe Regiments of Horse of the Horse.

4 The Vplanders.

5 The Ostro-Goths.

6 The Smolanders.

7 All the 5 Bodies under the number 7, are the Commanded Muskettiers: which lined the Horse Squadrons: and were led by the Count of Eberstein.

The Battell.

8 The first Brigade of Foot being all Swedish: belonging to Carl Hart, and led by his Lieutenant-Colonel.

9 The second Brigade of Foot, which was the Pretarian Regiment or the Life Guards, consisting of Dutch and Swedish: were led by Grave Neelles, a Swede. This was also called the Yellow Regiment.

10 The

10 The third Brigade of Foote, called the *Blew Regiment*, led by Colonel *Winckle*.

11 The fourth Brigade of Foot, commonly called the *White Regiment*, the *Greene fayes Gallobelgicus*. Made up of Duke *Bernards*, and Colonel *Wildensteins* Regiments: which Colonell, now led the Brigade. Here were 200. *Scots* in this Brigade.

The Left Wing.

12 A Squadron of Horse of Duke *Bernards*.

14 Another of his.

15 Colonel *Karbergs* Regiment.

16 The *Curlanders*, led by Colonell *Wrangle*.

17 The *Lieflanders*, led by Colonell *Tiesenhausen*.

18 A *Germane* Regiment; led by Colonel *Corvile*.

13 All the 5 Bodies under this number 13, are the Commanded Muskettiers that lined this Left Wing of Horse: They were led by Colonell *Gersdorff*.

The Numbers of the *Reere*, or second *Front*.

The Right Wing.

The Horse of the Right Wing of this *Reere*, were Commanded by Colonell *Bulach*, Sergeant-Major-General of the Horse.

19 Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymars* Regiment of Horse, led by his Brother Duke *Ernestus*.

21 Lieutenant-General *Goldsteins* Squadron: led by his Lieutenant-Colonel *Rhelinger*.

22 Generall-Major *Bulach* owne Squadron.

23 Colonel *Beckermanns* Regiment.

24 The *Landgrave of Hesses* Regiment: made up of two weake Regiments: Colonel *Rossteins*, namely, and Colonel *Dalwicks*: this last Colonel, leading the Regiment.

25 Colonel *Islers* Squadron: who was a Sergeant-Major-General: though now hee Commanded his owne men onely.

26 Vnder this number 20, are the 5 Bodies of Commanded Muskettiers, that lined the 6 Horse Squadrons.

The Battell.

26 The first Brigade of Foote of the Battell, in the Reere or second Front; This was made up of two weake Regiments of the *Elector of Saxonyes*, and Duke *Williams of Saxon-Weymar*. This Brigade was led by *Bosen*, the *Elector of Saxon* Colonel.

27 The seconde Brigade of Foot, belonged to Colonel *Kniphansen*; Sergeant-Major-General of the whole Army: who commanded all these fourre Brigades in the *Reere* of the *Battell*.

28 The third Brigade of Foot, led by the Count of *Thurn*; In this was the Count of *Ebersteins* weake Régiment, and some *Habsians*: which helped to make up the Brigade.

29 The fourth Brigade of Foot, led by Colonel *Mitzlaff*: made up of his owne, *Gerstorffs*, and *Russes* Regiments.

The Left Wing.

30 The first Squadron of Horse of the *Reere* of this

this *Left Wing*: led by Baron Hoffkireck. These were the Elector of *Saxonyes* men; which he sent unto the King, then at *Norimberg*.

32 A Squadron of the Prince of *Anhalts*.

33 The Count of *Loewenstein*s Regiment. These had no *Cornets*, for that they were newly leuyed; and their *Ensignes* not yet made. They were led by their owne Sergeant-Major.

34 Colonel *Brandensteins* Squadron.

35 Colonel *Steinbocks*. These being the Kings ordinary Guards, were sent for up into the *Front*, and joynd to the *Smolanders*: the King himselfe fighting at the head of *Steinbocks* Squadron.

36 Colonel *Sticknits* Squadron. Here were some French Horse.

31 Vnder this number 31. are the 5 Bodies of the Commanded Muskettiers, that lyned the Horse Squadrons.

37 A Reserve of Foot, for the *Van* of the Battell: led by Colonel *John Hinderson*, a *Scottishman*.

38 A Reserve of Horse for the *Reere* of the Battell: led by Colonel *Oeme*, of the *Lower Palatinate*.

Walensteins Army.

39

40 } 3 Squadrons of *Crabats*, Light Horsemen.

41 }

42 }

43 } 3 Regiments of *Curiassiers*, or men at Armes,

44 } being heauy armed Horsemen.

45
 46 } 4 Regiments of Foote.

47
 48 }

49 A strong Regiment of Horse of *Piccolomini's*
 in the head of the Battell. Here (tis said) *Walenstein*
 himselfe was.

50 } 51 } 4 Regiments of Foote: with some lynings of
 52 } Horse amongst them.

53 }

54 } 55 } 2 Regiments of Horse with Foote among.

56 }

57 } 58 } 3 Squadrons of *Cuirassiers*.

59 }

59 *Crabats.*

The

The Swedish Army having staid two dayes at *Wrisenfel*, after their fatall and *mourning Victory*; and having in that time, over-viewed and ordered their Army: they not as yet knowing, the fright the enemy was still in; or whither he might call *Gallas* and his Army to him: resolve to pursue, what the dead King had before the Battell purposed; which was to conioyne with the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Lunenburg*. These two Dukes, indeed, had beeene united with their 8000. men about *Torgan*; some fortnight or 3. weekes before the Battell: *Lunenburg* being marcht up so farre, so soone as ever *Pappenheim* had forsaken the *Lower Saxony*.

And they now hearing of the *Battell*, and of the Imperialists forsfaking of *Leipsich*: begin to stirre for the recovery of it. Friday November ninth a little after noone; some 10. or 12. *Saxon* Horsemen come to the *Grammisch* port of *Leipsich*: where professing themselves to be Imperialists; they are admitted. Being gotten in, some one or 2. of them clogge up, and make good the gate; till another troope of their fellowes (then hard at hand) were come into them. The Court of *The Saxons* guardat the Port, is cut in pieces: and much execution done upon the wearied and unprovided Imperialists. Towards night, the two Dukes of *Altemburg* and *Lunenburg*, with the three Colonels *Hoffkirck*, *Tauben* and *Pfort*; attended on by 40 troopes of Horsemen and Dragooneers: enter also into the Cittie. These taking the absolute possession and Mastery of the Towne, give present summons to the Castle of *Pleissenburg*; where there yet was an Imperiall garrison. Saterday being the tenth they order the City, and prepare to besiege the Castle.
The 11. they get up three Batteries, where *Holck*, had before done: and made like his, of Horse-dung and Wooll-sacks; with boords over them. That day, the Horse marcht out of the towne: and in the night, 500. Muskettiers came in place of them. Some also, were sent from the Swedish Armie: that all might ioyne together in the clearing of the countrey. All this day the Ordnance thunderd so upon the Cattle, that a peice of the Bulwarke was beaten flat downe with it. Mun-

Y
day,

day, being the 12th, the castle, about noone, was againe summoned : but the Governour *Mozer*, not onely sent his deniall to those Summons; but to all that should be made afterwards : which was, a vowe to live and die in his owne defence : and as for mercy or conditions, he expected none from them : nor would he accept of any termes, but what himselfe should offer them. Now therefore are the Ordnance sent to argue the cause for both parties : at which mooting : we, for a while, leave them ; to tell what was in the meane time done in other parts of the Countrey.

The Swedish Army being parted from *Weissenfels*, and and the Saxons *Naumburg*: Saterday November tenth arrived at *Pegau*. The next day, they moove to *Born*: and thence (as we told you) are some forces sent to *Leipisch*. General-Major *Dodo Kniphauzen* having intelligence with the Burgers of *Friborg*: reprise that by an *Aenslaught*; and cuts off some 3. or 400, Imperialists in it. Duke *Bernard* does as much, to 2. or 300, *Crabats*, in another little towne thereabouts. Munday November 12th. the Army marcht to *Grim*, where they found themselves to be some 12000. and hither came the *Saxons* and *Lauenburgers* Army to joyne with them. And now it is amongst them resolved; either to pursue the enemy, if he any where durst in the field abide them : or else to reconquer those townes of the Duke of *Saxonyes*: wherein the *Generalissimo* had left any garrisons.

Chemnitz is now first set upon, 30. miles up the same river, due South from *Grim*, towards *Bohemia*. Here were the remnants of the 3. Regiments of the *Palant*, *Conreras*, and the dead *Camarga*. Some service was on both sides done, before the towne would render: but my purpose being but to relate things brieflyer, now since the Kings deth: I shall onely affoord you the generall *Acts* and *Articles*. Vpon these conditions, was the place rendred.

and the conditions. 1. That the Imperiall Governour should give over the towne; and leave all his Gunnes, Ammunition, Victuals, and Ensignes unto the *Swedes* and *Saxons*.

2. That

3. That no Protestant , were hee Ecclesiasticall or Lay person ; should bee forcibly carried away by the Imperialists : nor should any harme or damage bee done to them .
3. That the Imperialists should not , (either now or hereafter) make demands to the Elector of Saxonyes subjects , of any thing due for Contribution or upon any other colour : nor should be troublesome to them for that matter .
4. The Govermour , so soone as ever the Articles were signed ; should deliver up the towne keyes : and should draw up all his souldiers together into the place of Parade , in the market-steadt ; and that without matches lighted , or any corne of powder , or bullet of lead , about them .
5. Both Govermour and Souldiers , Ecclesiasticks , sicke and wounded people , should so soone as ever they requested it ; have leave to goe out of the towne : but yet without sound of Drummes and Trumpets , and with no other weapons , but their swords only .
6. The Govermour should have leave to carry away his owne baggage , upon his owne Horses and Waggons : of which , none of the other Officers , should have more then one a-piece . As for the common souldiers , they should carry away no more , then they could beare upon their backs .
7. If any of the garrison were disposed , to turne to the Protestant Partie : the Govermour should attempt nothing against them , in prejudice either of their lives or honours .
8. The Govermour and his souldiers should be convoyed as farre as Frisberg , who should bee bound from plundering or burning any thing by the way , in the Duke of Saxonyes Dominions . And in lieu of the souldiers that should convoy them , they were to leave pledges for their safe returme : after which , the pledges should have their Passes .

9. In these Articles, shouldest not those common harriers and plunderers, the *Crabats*; by no means be comprehended.

10. If in any tittle, these Articles should be prooved to bee infringed, the Govermour was to bee laid hold of: and the conditions to be of no force, against the besiegers.

Shall I call these 10. *Articles*, or 10. *Commandements*? for as yet have I seldome read, that any enemy did not scorne to yeeld up his towne, upon such unsouldierly and dishonourable conditions: who was not forced by *Storme*, to yeeld at *Mercy*. Looke all *History* over: and you shall hardly find me 10. such *Articles*: scarcely worse; and upon that, I dare give you the booke you find them in. By this you see, what estate the Imperiall Army was in. Let all that side hereafter, forbear to say, that theirs had the victory at *Lutzen*; seeing that so suddenly after it, and within 25. English miles of *Bohemie*; three Imperiall Regiments did yeeld up such a towne, upon such pittifull conditions.

Kniphausen goes to Leipsich Castle.

Pleissenburg Castle taken,

Cheimitz being taken, the *Swedish Army* is devided: General-Major *Kniphausen*, being with some forces sent to *Leipsich*, to hasten the taking of the Castle: whilst Duke *Bernard* sent out Partees every way, to skewre the coast of the Imperialists. *Kniphausen* being come to *Leipsich*, and some greater peeces of Battery brought thither from *Dresden*, the siege is gone on more sadly withall. I finde (I confess) writing for 2. or 3. sallyes made by the Imperialists: and of an offer made by the besiegers, to breake the ground and to begin their *Approaches*, (one Moone-light night) right against the *Thomas Gate*. But I write no more particulars. Let it suffice to know, that on Sunday December 2^d. the Govermour *Mozer* (for all his stoutneſſe) was faine to condiscend to these 9. *Articles*: which had they beeene of his making (which hee before protested to stand upon) I suppose they would have beeene more favourable to his partie.

i. That

1. That the Govermour with his Officers and souldiers, The Con-
that defended the Castle, as also the Ecclesiasticks, sicke ditions,
and wounded people, shall depart out of it the day fol-
lowing.

2. The Govermour shall be bound, either this night, or to
morrow morning; to deliver up his prisoners, whither
Churchmen, or of the *Laity*.

3. That neither Govermour nor souldiers, shall now or
hereafter, pretend any thing upon the subiects of the Elector
of *Saxony*.

4. The Govermour and his Officers shall have leave to car-
ry away their owne baggage: provided there were nothing
amongst it, belonging unto any of the *Electors* subiects. As
for the common souldiers, they shall march out with no
more, then they could carry upon their shoulders.

5. The Govermour shall leave all his Ordnance, Artillery,
Ammunition, Provisions, Armour, and whatsoever else was
necessary for defence; behind him in the Castle.

6. And to thall he doe with his Ensignes, if hee hath
any.

7. The Govermour shall not onely bee bound, but give
sureties for it; that he shoulde have no powder-mines in the
Castle; nor shoulde his souldiers doe any other wrong to it, at
their departure.

8. The Govermour shall pretend nothing, either against
their lives or honours; that were disposed to turne to the
Protestant party.

9. Lastly, That by vertue of this agreement, the Gover-
nour with his Officers and souldiers, might freely come out
of the Castle; and shoulde have a *Saxon Convoye*, even to the
Frontiers of *Bohemia*: provided that he left *hostages* for the
returne of the *Convoye*.

Articles, within a very little, as lowly as the former: and
yet upon these was *Pfissenburg* Castle rendred, December
3^d. being Munday. The *Saxons* hauing delivered the impe-
rialists upon the Frontiers of *Bohemia*, the Boores there,

not suffering them to enter : beat them backe as farre as *An-
saberg in Silesia* : where they were forced to become Swed-
ish. This I find writing for : but I wonder how *Waldstein*
would use these Boores for it ?

I passe by smaller renounters ; because I hasten (like the *Swedes*) to cleare the greater townes, of the Imperialists. And they, it appeares, made such hast to doe it, that they gave farre better conditions to the next towne, (for a packing penny) then they had done to both the former. Twas now in the depth of Winter, when as the souldiers would faine be in their *Quarters* ; and their two Commanders (Duke *Bernard* and *Kniphausen*) at *Dresden*. Thither the *Protestant* Princes, began to come and send, to the holding of a *Dye* : and to consult together, how the *Warres* were to be prosecuted, now after the death of the great *Director of the Warre*, the incomparable King of *Sweden*.

Pleissenburg Castle being taken, and restored (like *Chem-
nitz*) to the Elector of *Saxony*: Generall-Major *Kniphausen*
goes with the Army unto *Zwicka* ; which by this time Duke
Bernard had given a girdle to. And now are the *Saxon* For-
ces, returned againe towards *Silesia*: for that thereabouts, the
Imperialists began a new to bustle.

The Baron *de Suis*, was now Gouverour of *Zwicka*: and
he preparing for defence, burnes downe the Suburbs ; fortifi-
es and mans the great Church, the Towne-house, and Ca-
stle. Duke *Bernard* and *Kniphausen* (to be briefe) making up
Batteries of Timber-worke ; upon the fifteenth of *Decem-
ber*, began to talke in the tone of thunder to them : By this,
in tenne dayes space, the besieged were brought downe to
lower and milder language : and contented upon *Christmas
Day*, to take this *cold P_ro* to their dinners. Then were
these *Articles* concluded upon.

and
the conditions,
1. That by 5. a clocke on Saint Johns day in the morning,
the Gouverour and souldiers, belonging either unto his Im-
periall Maiesty, or unto the *Catholike Leaguers*; should with
flying Ensignes, Drummes beating, matches lighted, bullet
in

in the mouth, and full Armes; depart out of the City: carrying along with them, some field peeces; of powder, bullet, leade, and match, of each 2000. weight.

2. That the Foote forces, shall take all their Horses, Wagons, Baggage, Moveables, and their *Leaguer-servants*; along with them, without molestation.

3. That the Horsemen, servitors either to the Emperor or the *Leaguers*, of what nation or quality soever they are; shall have leave to march out compleatly. That is to say, with Horses, Saddles, Pistols, Carabines, and Cornets: and with their Baggage in like manner, as was granted to the Foote-forces.

4. That the Imperiall Commissary *Conradus à Schleisburg*, shall also be comprehended in the Treaty.

5. That the sicke and wounded men, shall goe out upon the same termes with the other: who if they want Wagons to carry them away: the Duke will please to allow them some: or else to suffer them so long to stay in the City, and be carefully looked unto, till they be thorowly cured. After which, they shall be suffered to depart, without molestation. To this end, shall order be given to the *Swedish* and *Saxon* souldiers; that the Baron *De Suis* and his souldiers (Horse and Foote) be suffered to depart, without wrong or molestation.

6. The *Swedish* assure also, that they shall not goe about, either by money or other waies; to debauch or inveigle away any of the Imperiall souldiers, into their service.

7. The departing Imperialists, shall have a sufficient Convoy, (of 2. or 300. Horse at least) under some Commander; to guard them as farre as *Prenswitz* in the way to *Commotha*: who shall not enforce them to march above two *Dutch* leagues a day.

Vpon these honorable conditions, went the Baron *De Suis* out of *Znicka*: attended with a garrison of 1150. Foot, under 25. flying Ensignes: and 600. *Crabass*, with some other Horsemen. Two hundred and fifty Waggons-loades of Baggage

Baggage and Ammunition, he had along: and was, in state and leisure, conveyed into the very borders of *Bohemia*. The *Swedes*, towards the end of the Market, were contented to affoord good penny-worths: for this being the last towne of the Elector of *Saxonyes*, possessed by the Imperialists; the Countries of *Saxony*, *Voitland*, and *Misnia*, were now quite cleared of them. And then was the over-harassed, tyred, and victorious Army, put into their winter-Quarters.

The Army put
into Quarters.

Oxenstiern com-
ming,

the Army is
devided.

Kniphauzen
made Felt-
Marshall: and
sent into the
Lower-Saxony.

And by this time was that wise *States-man*, the *Reichs-Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern*, come into the Conntrey. He first convoking the Military Commanders, unto *Altemburg*, (as I take it) some part of the glorious Conquerors *Will and Testament*, was made knowne unto them. And whereas the King in his life time, had appointed *Dodo Baron of Inhausen* and *Kniphauzen*, to goe with an Army into the *Lower-Saxony*; and to have the Title of a *Felt-Marshall*: the *Swedish Army* is thereupon divided: part remaining to that valiant young Prince, Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*, and another smaller part, going along with the new *Felt-Marshall*.

Both these Armies, (as also all those other of the several *Swedish Commanders about Germany*) were to take their orders and directions, from the Lord Chancellor: who was to command all in chiefe; by vertue of the *Commission* which the King had given him: of being *Perpetuall Ambassador to the Armies*. This is that ancient and honorable Title among the *Romane*, called *Legatus ad exercitus*: For the pleasure therefore, and better understanding of the Readers; give me leave to rub up my old notes, and to deduce this Office from Antiquity.

The *Romane Senate*, still used to send some of the prime Nobility, and skilful in the warres, unto the Generall: whose counsells and directions he was to have regard unto, in all but in the manner of fighting the Army. Twas the honourablest military employment of all, and the most reverend. The *Am-bassador to the Armies*, hath in him both the power of a *Generall*, and the sacrednesse of a *Priest*: sayes *Dionysius lib. xi^o. speaking of Lucius Siccius*. Hence the *Greekes* styled them

them *Prætoriæ & Supæcœ; Elders and Counsellors.* When there was a *Romanæ Dictator* (an absolute soveraigne and Military Emperour, or more) then hee appointed his owne *Ambassador.* Then also he commanded him : and so did the *Consul* too, when he was abroad as *Generall* of the Army. *Dolobella me sibi Legavit*; saies *Cicero. Consull, Generall Dolobella*, hath appointed me his *Ambassador.* Their place was above the *Tribunes.* They were chosen out of the *Senatoriis*: and when there was no *Dictator* upon the Army; then had they a solemnie election by the whole *Senate.* *Legati ex Senatorum ordine: and, ex Senatoria autoritate legarentur*, saies *Cicero.* Chosen out of the *Senate*, and by it. *Legati, publicè letti; quorum opera consilioque uesterentur, perigrin Magistratus.* They were chosen publikely : and the *Magistrates* sent abroad into the *Provinces*, were to use their counsell and assistance. *Cicero* in *Vatin*: calls them *Nuncios pacis & belli: Curatores, Interpretes: bellici consili Auctores; Ministros munieris Provincialis.* Heralds and Denouncers of peace and warre: Curators and Interpreters, Authors of military directions; Administrators of the affaires in the Provinces.

In this they differed from the *Imperator* or Great *General.* *Aliæ sunt Legati partes, aliæ Imperatoris.* Alter, omnia agere ad prescriptum, alter liberè ad summam rerum consulere debet, sayes *Cesar.* The *Generall* is to execute according to the words of his Commission: but the *Ambassador*, may extraordinarily give his advice , upon the highest point of the busynesse. In the *Generalls* absence from the Army, the *Ambassador* kept the state : he had his *Lictors* and his *Secures*; his *Sergeants* with the *Axe* and *Rods* to goe before him. *Verres in Achiam, sumptu publico & legationis nomine; cum imperio & securibus missus est*: saies *Cicero.* *Verres* was sent into *Achaea* upon the charges of the Common-wealthe, and the title of an *Ambassador*: with command and state.

There were 2. degrees of these *Ambassadors*, among the *Romane*: *Consulares*, and *Prætorij.* The first sort, was for the whole Army: the other were but *Duces*, Colonels to their

Brigades, Regiments, or Divisions. *Augustus Cesar*, did all abroad in the Provinces, by the first : whom *Tacitus* calls *Consulares*. And of this dignity (as neere as ancient orders may be compared to new imitations) is the Lord *Axel Oxenstiern*, Baron of *Kimith*, Lord of *Fisholmen* and *Tydoen*, Praefident of *Lapland* and of the *North Marches*, Knight, &c. *Counsellor* and *Chancellor* of the Kingdome of *Sweden*; and *Ambassador Generall and Perpetuall, unto the Armies in Germany*.

And here must I conclude my *Story* (my unpolisht and unworthy *Story*), of the most incamparable valiant and good Prince; that ever (yet) honored any age or *Story*. The *Protestants* and well affected party (me thinks) may well bee compared unto the 2. Bookes of the Prophet *Jeremy*. *Experience*, is a kind of *Prophet*. People, therefore, certaine in experience of what he *had done*; were so strong in hopes, of what he *would doe*: that they even seem'd to prophesie. But now, alas! when their hopes are fail'd, they conclude with *Jeremias Lamentations*: *Iosiah* is dead, and well they may lament him. How likely, (had God spar'd him life) he was to have fulfilled all mens hopes ; and how deservedly, he is now to be lamented: See here (good Reader) by this following, course *Charakter* of him.

The



The Character

Of the High and Mighty Prince,
and most victorious Conqueror *Gustavus*
Adolphus, King of *Sweden*, &c.

Wherein the best of those conceits, in
Le Soldat Suédois, are not neglected.

Hat this Prince was a *Descendant* by the *Male-line*, not from a *Kingly Stemme*, onely, but from a *Familly of Deliverers*: and that his *Nobility* by the * *Females*, is of a more ancient extraction, then the vulgar Heraldry hath yet taught us: are the advantages of his Birth, the additions to his *Inheritance*, and the commendations of his Fortune. Nor could lesse be expected to the propagating of such a Prince; then a *Crowned Merit* and *Nobility*; in his *Ancestors*. And that, not of the first head onely: least it should have beene mistaken for a *chance of Natures*, and not an

* By his great Grandmother ; delcended of the ancient *Gottori* and *Pulcones*, Dukes & Kings of *Sweden*. His Fathers line being from *Trolle* and the *Trollioes*, Knights and Councillors of *Sweden*, of 4000 years standing. A Knight, of a Knights family there, is equall in esteem with the, as amongst vs those are, of the Garter.

He was borne
in December
1594.

Industry; but to produce the *Conqueror of Germany*, there was the preparation of many *Ages*, required. Like as in the delicateſt *Fruite-trees*: tis not enough, that the *Cyon* be of a *noble Stocke*; but that it be bettered by many *Engraftings* and *Removings*. *Ancient*, *descending*, and *continued Merite* and *Nobility*, derived from the loynes of *many Ancestors*: nothing leſſe could have begotten ſuch a *King of Sweden*. *Sweden* glories in his *Birth*; thats *Her honour*: but his *Pedigree* and *Alliances*, are from *Germany*. The more *kindly* and *naturall*, therefore, was his *ambition to deliver* it: and the leſſe exception lay there, to his being a *Stranger*. To be a *ſigne*, of whence he was descended; were his *2. names given him*. *Gustavus*, hath beene the ancient *Christian name* of divers of the Kings of *Sweden*: though none of them till his carrying it, put the world into the conceit, that it was the *Anagramme of Augustus*. *Adolphus* hath beene the bearing of the Houſes of *Holſtein* and of *Mecklenburg*; from both which, he lineally was extracted. So was He borne, and thus *Christened*.

His youth was bred up, with royall exercises: ſuch as might ſeaſon him with *Vertue* and *Religion*, and prepare him for *grand businesſes*. His body, though brought up, Princely, yet not Cocknied up, tenderly: nor with too muſch ſoft, and warme, and gaye, and ſweete; effeminated. The *Poets faine*, that *Mars* was borne in this Country: who had never prov'd the *God of Warre*, had not his body beene enured to the Frost, and Ice, and Rocks, and hardſhip of this *Northerne Clymate*. His ſpirit, was by the tutorage

tutorage of the best learning and examples, so elevated; as to esteeme no good designe too high for him: fortified with a courage, that knew not how to stoope beneath a King; and (like his sword, afterwards) tempered with so irrefistable, and steely an edge, as shoud cut thorow all dangers and necessities. At home, he learned *Latin*, in *Italy*, *Mathematicks*; other where abroad, the *French*, *Italian*, and *Germane* languages: all which as he learned very readily, so he spake as promptly and elegantly. Travaille refin'd and furnisht him: yea he privately travailed *Germany*, under the concealed name of Mr. ^{*}*G A R S*, even after he was King of *Sweden*.

At 16. yeeres old, hee was not onely a souldier, but a Colonell; and though the yonngest, yet (per chance) not the unskilfullest, of his Fathers Army. Next yeere, which was Anno 1611. King *Charles* his Father dyed: when himselfe, then but a *Minor* of 17. yeeres of age, was called to the Kingdome. The entry into his reigne, was the tryall of his education: his Father left him embroyled with the *Dane* and *Muskovite*; and shortly after, began the *Polander* to confront him. The pretences of these Princes, were indeed much different: but in the ruine of a young King, they all had the same intentions. *Poland* claimed the *Crowne*; *Denmarke* and the *Muskovite*, put in to recover what bordering lands they had before claimed; and which, had either beene conquered from them, by his Ancestors, or freely for merite granted them, by the others. I wil not write a *Story*, where I intend but a *Character*. Let this suffice to

* This assumed appellation, was made up of the 4. first letters of his Title *Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueciae.*

know; that he gate the better of all 3. Nations, both upon the greene grasse, and upon the greene Carpet: in the field, I meane, and upon the Treaty.

Two of his young schollers prizes, were pitty to passe over. In his warre with the *Muskovite*, hee would needs lay siege to *Notteburg Castle*: which among other lands, the *Muskovite* had granted his Father, for his service. The place of this, is upon an Illand; in the middle of the mouth, of the most raging swift river of *Nerva*, and at least Culvering shot, from either shoare of it. His Colonells, not willing their young King should receive a checke in his rising fortunes, by attacking an impossibility: disswade the Action: himselfe onely remaining constant to pursue it. See how God Almighty made our young *Iosua*, to be honoured among his people.

The *Muskovites* proved to have such *thrushes*, and *warts*, and *blisters*, growing in the insides of their throates and mouthes; that they could neither feede nor swallow: so that having abundance of Ammunition, and a whole yeeres victuallis by them; yet came they out and yeelded up the Castle to him. An impregnable piece! which could neither be battered, starved, nor have a bridge laid over to it. That yeere, tooke he another Castle, almost as strong: whereupon the *Muskovite* was glad to make King *James* his good friend; to procure his peace with the young *Sweden*.

Some while after this, had hee a difference with the *Dantzickers*: who man'd out 20. or 30. good Ships of Warre; with the first opening of the Spring,

to

Anno 1617.

See the booke
called *Descrip-*
tio Regni Sueciae.

to have burnt up his Nauy in the Harbour. Twas about the end of winter then, when his long and narrow *Swedish Sea*, was a yeard or two deepe frozen. This Ice, our young King causing his Boores (for 10 or 12. English miles together) to cut open; came with his Fleet in the night, upon the *Dantzickers*; and burnt, funke, spoyled, or tooke the most of them.

In his Warres with his Vnkle *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, hee conquered so many townes from him, both in *Prussia* and *Livonia*: that the *Pole* was enforced to request the mediation of King *Charles* and the *French* King, to make up a peace for 6. yeeres betwixt them: which hee afterwards desired to bee perpetuated. This was concluded September 29. 1629: King *Sigismund* acknowledging *Gustavus Adolphus* to be King of *Sweden*; and in his Treaty, so styling him.

*Sir Thomas Roe
was our Kings
Ambassador.*

And thus, wheresoever this young *Mars* entred; the dread of his *Armes* and *Name*, were as full of terror to the enemy-Country, as *Annibal* sometimes unto the *Romanes*: nor ever returned he out of them, but with the *Olive* and the *Palme* branches; the *Emblemes* of *Peace* and *Victory*.

*Annibal ad
portas.*

But these Northern *Trophyes* upon his next neighbours, though they had much of *glory*; yet have they much of *Credit* and possibility, also in them: but *Chronicle* and *Believe* must straine hard, to make his *Germane Conquests* any thing probable, with posterity: and were they not written in the times of the doing, and acknowledged by his enemies: scarcely would the *Legend* be more *Apocryphall*. For what credulity,

credulity, (not facile to be abused) could perswade it selfe, that 2. third parts of *Germany*, could (and by him that entred but with 11000. men, and that two moneths after his landing in *Pomerania*, had not 10000. dollars to pay his Army) in 2. yeeres and 4. moneths space, be wrested from so puissant an Emperour? A mighty Empire and a potent; formidable for its greatnesse; confident upon the power of its Colleagues and Vpholders; vast in its extent; terrible for its Armes and Captaines; renowned for its Conquests; beyond expectation, successfull in all its enterprises: and that knew no bounds, but the *Alpes* and the *Ocean*. And yet this Empire, which either with its Armies, or garrisons: if not by a cheaper way, the meere reputation of what it had, or might doe; held so many Princes at a *Baye*: was it selfe constrained to take on the yoake, which *Swedens* Gantlett put upon it. In leſſe then 2. yeeres and a halfe, he did all this: what might he more have atchieved, had he gone on another yeer and 2. moneths: and fil'd up the time of that malicious and false prediction, which the *Iefuits* had cast abroad of him? They comforted their credulous *Novices*, with his being *Antichrift*; and that he should raigne 3. yeeres and a halfe, and no longer.

The beleefe of his conquering so much, will be the more facilitated: if we could but conceive (once) his familiar way of doing it: he made but a *Comedy* of the warres: which others are so solemne upon; and make so full of Tragedy. I will give but two examples. Comming before *Elbing* with an Army, scarce so strong as their garrison; he after Summons and

and Holtages, wormes out by faire words, the Burgomaster and some great ones, to his Tent unto a Parlee. Himselfe, in the meane time, with some few of his Gentlemen, goes to the Ports and desires to come in as a traueller, to please his sight onely, with the rarities of their City. Such pleasancty of words and conceit he used, that the Citizens were as desirous to see the King of *Sweden*, as he to take their City. Being in, he walkes gazing up and downe, the people flocking still after him. Now in truth good people (saies he) if I had thought you had desired to see the King of *Sweden*, I would have put on my best cloathes to day. What need you feare mee? my *Swedes* and *Fins* shall be your drudges, cleave wood, fetch water, and doe you any servilitie: and with that he calleth a stubbed *Finn* to him, and commands him to remoove some lumber, or piece of rubbish. This said, he goes into a Stationers shop, and there calleth for *Buchanans Poems*: just as in such a case *Alexander* sometimes did, for *Homers Iliades*. And thus the Burgomaster knowing, that the King was in the towne, and He being sure, that the Burgomaster was in His Tent: the composition became the easier. At that very strong towne of *Konigshoven* in *Franconia*, after this, showed hee another example of this facetious facilitie. Having summoned the towne, hee rides up along towards the Ports: where when hee saw the guards blowing their matches, and making ready to shoothe him: *Sacrament* (sayes he) if you make but one shot, the King shall know of it, and he hath vowed that not a man of you shall have

aa

Quarter.

Quarter. But if you will treate fairely , you shall have your owne conditions. This was his order (mostly) in taking of a towne : he would not stand entrenching and building *Redoubts* , at a miles distance : but clap downe with his Army presently, about Cannon shot from it. There would he begin his Approaches, get to their wals, Batter and Storme, presently : and if hee saw the place were not by a running pull to be taken : hee would not lose above 4. or 6. dayes before it ; but rise and to another. And thus did he at *Ingolstat*.

Tis a hard taske to give you the just portraiture of this Prince : he was so perpetually in action, that he seldome gave himselfe time to sit , to have it taken. But these (in generall) are the rough drawings of his personall excellencies. He bare a Port and Presence, full of a gracious Majestie; full flesht, and fac't : a rich and a gallant stature , two yeards and above : a hawkes eye ; the world thought an Eagles. His more then flaxen-coloured haire, inclined to the colour of *Apolloes* : a signe hee had much of the *Sunne* in him. His tone of speech, was of a manly and a masterly pronunciation : and his answers were quicke, full, smart, but not gybing : cleane limb'd he was, strong, active, and hardy : made up as fitly for a King, as for a Generall. But for the guest that raign'd in this Palace, and actuated it ; his *minde*, and his *spirit*: thats to be best guesst at by his Conquests. An undaunted courage , a strong judgement, an admirable quicknesse of conceit , a naturall vigilancy and indefatigableness , a marueilous forecast, with the

the best advantage to apprehend and dispose of his occasions : these were his *personall forces*, that conquered so much of *Germany*. Looke else into his Leaguer. See there his encamping , his fortifying , his new wayes of fighting, and embatteling ; his orders, his provisions, his directions, and the soule and spirit of all these, his owne diligences: and then tell me, how he were easie to be resisted. An excellent dexterity, besides, was he endowed withall, to extricate and untangle the *Gordian knottiness* of a businesse; the master-spirit he had , over all that came before him , a gift, withall to take the advantage of mens humours ; and a native attraction in him, to winne hearts , as well as Provinces. A great Student hee was, upon any businesse of importance: and when his *Chancellor* was with him, a diligent disputer and *Cavasser* of the Answer , which he was to give to Ambassadours.

He would have the projecting of the designe, still to passe from his owne invention ; seldome calling a formall *Councell of Warre* ; and yet not despising to aske upon the *Bye*, the advises of his Commanders. He contented not himselfe to be the Generall of an Army, but he would be a Captain, yea a Sergeant of a band; an Enginier, a Common souldier, a Canosier: all, or any thing. The surprise and suddennesse of a danger , seldome astonied his iudgement : but the more desperate the peril were, the nimbler, commonly, was he in his deliveries; still shewing most vigor, where there was most need of it. There was not an enterprise to be gone upon , not beneath the honour

of a Colonell; but let the danger be what it would, he would leade on the Partee. And twas an asto-nishment to behold, that he was not onely not worne out with the assiduity of his labours and his hard-shippes; but that he battned and grew fat upon action: comming fresh off from one, and still prest and ready for another enterprize. Hee grew fat, I say, not with eating and drinking; no Prince was more temperate then he, those wayes. His feeding was upon strong and sholdierly dishes: nor such delicacies, as were dainty of taste, and easie of digestion; but such lusty, bearing meates, as would encrease strength, and make resistance in the stomacke. Drinking, hee was not taxt for: and notwithstanding it be the Northerne way of sinnen; yet came not he to out-drinke the *Germanes*: they were not that way to be conquerred. Briefly, that Northerne corner of the world, hath not brought forth a Prince of his *temper*, and *temperance*; or a man so generally well put together, in all imaginable abilities and perfections; to make a Generall of. And so much, have the contriving and conduct of his designes, manifested; which he had even almost given their period unto.

I have left out the best part yet, and that was his *Religion*; his devotion in his *Religion*, (publike and private) and his frequent *Prayers* and *Thankesgiuings*, (especially upon all eminenter occasions) were the things that rendred him admirable. He would pray a ship-board, and a shoare, in the Field, and in the midst of a Battell: as if *Prayer* alone, were the surest piece of all his whole Armour. And in his open

Prayers,

Prayers, this one thing is of all the rest, most considerable; That as other times he had sworne, publikely sworne; that his purposes were not to *Conquer*, but to *Deliver*: so in his Prayers for divine assistance, would he boldly appeale to God the searcher of the hearts, that Hee knew his intentions to be no other. That a Prince, now, should thus dare it in the face of Heaven; and call downe just vengeance from thence, if he meant not Gods glory in sinceritie: they must be his enemies, that will not beleeve it.

The greatest imperfection of his body, was that his eyes were dimme sighted: that though he could forsee (no eye better) yet could he not discerne farre from him. The greatest infirmite of his minde, was his *Cholericknesse*: a passion, indeed which he could not so well controll; and which would easily, now and then, burst forth, upon a slight, or *imagined* provocation. But this was an inbred humour, not a humorousnesse in him: and the usuall uncorrected vigorousnesse of those Spirits it is, that have a richer allowance of Spirit and Fire in them. This though it must be confessed, to be a peccancy, and a distemper; yet is it to be observed withall, that of the predominances of the 4. Humours, this principally renders a man fit for action. And truly, it might in him the better be excused, for that hee was still enchaft with busynesses; and had so many dispositions of men, and successes of affaires, to encounter withall: especially sometimes, when hee found but awckwardnesse. This fault indeed, was he noted for: and tis for him that writes his *Apologie*, not his *Character*, to

deny or defend it. And yet this helpe there was for it: that upon a very little consideration, hee would take himselfe with the manner, and take up, presently: and with a gracious debonnairenesse and sweetnesse, (which was naturall to him) give checke to the over-lashing of some lesse advised and indigested speeches, that had in choler slipt from him. Ready, besides, of himselfe, he was, to give satisfaction: not unto the *Grandees* and *Chiefe*s onely of his Armies, whose merits and seruices might take the more exceptions to such vsage: but euen to the common souldiers also, who ought not to stand vpon such *puntilioes* with a King their Generall. This would he doe easily; especially where he found himselfe vsed like a King, and sued vnto.

Himselfe would say, when he tooke notice now and then, of this touchiness of his owne nature, so apt with a little spark to take fire: *That he must endure, ever and anon, the diversities of their humours; the flegme of some, and the drinke of others: and that in equity, therefore, they ought something the better to beare with his cholerickeſſe.* And an indifferent temper in men, would have passed by this infirmite in him; could they have but considered the multitudes and varieties of those greater thoughts, which were still agitated in that ever working braine and spirit of his; wound up, and labouring upon the stretch, without intermission. A man, me thinkes, should doe with a bad humour in a Prince, as with a bad Angell: give him his full Graines, and Allowances; and then weigh him. But if you please to put into the other skale, those

those extraordinary many vertues in him : his sweetnesse of disposition; his easinesse of accessse ; the familiarnesse of his carriage ; his care that every common souldier should have his due ; and his moderation in the greatnessse of his successes ; not thinking his shad-dow one spanne the more spreading : then surely, the beame would so cast it on the better side , that his choler would seeme but as the dust of the balance, to them.

But yet another fault was there in this most excellent Prince , which (now) hath spoyl'd all the rest. That,namely, his courage suffered his Iudgement no better to distinguish , betwixt the duties of a com-mon *Carabin*, and a *Generall* of an Army; but would adventure the *King*, as farre as the *Leader* of a *Partee*: and that , by consequence , he tooke no better care for the saving and sparing of the best blood of the Army ; but was too too prodigall an unthrift of it. The marvaile is not, that he was so hazardous of it, in a Cause so glorious ; but that in all those encounters, he lost no more of it : his owne life,perpetually, being as farre and forwardly engaged , and still run-nning the same hazards ; with the meanest of his Ar-my. But yet for taking off this blame from him; this, in his discharge, is to be said : That that natu-rall constitution of his,not of fire onely, but of flame; made all the valour and couragiousnesse of his Ar-my, beholden unto his example : and that the well speeding of his so many victories , was principally to be ascribed to his presence in the encounters : the very sight of such a Leader,like some puissant *Aspect* in

in the heavenly *Constellations*, infusing a secret influence and irradiation of courage into his owne ; and of fright and terrour, into his enemies.

And by these excellencies , arrived hee to this height of glory : even of a military glory. And see what a true-raif'd Fame can doe ! it hath something in it , not onely beyond the nature of an *Eagle*, but of a *Starre* , too ; for the higher aire this Prince wrought himselfe up into, the fuller, still, and the liker *Statua*, his vertues have appeared ; and he bigned upon the eye of envie, in his *Mountie*. Bodies meere-ly made up of *craft* or *fortune*, doe out of cunningnesse affect to conceale their owne greatnessses. Like *Mercury* among the *Planets* ; who though of a fiery and a flushing luster : yet so politike a Courtier and close a waiter he is, (and that upon industry:) as by ever crowding neere the Sunne , hee hath gained to walke so farre obscured under his Masters glories ; that his devoutest servants (the *Astronomers*) can selome or never procure the sight of him. Whereas *Bodyes* made up of true *worth* and *substance* ; are like the *Sunne* it selfe, then arrived to the brightest of his Beauties ; when in the highest degree and *Meridian*, of his *Exaltation*.

And this is something , towards the *Character* of the King of *Sweden*, whilst he was. And alasthat I must lay , *Whilst he was* ! Now would I give all my part in *Grammer* , to alter but one *Tense*, and to say *He is*. But because *He is* no more amongst us, this *Character* and *Story* of his; may serve in stead of his *Picture*; to conserve his memory.. I confess I
am

am not Limner cunning enough, to give every part of him, his true *setting* and proportion: nor have I the Art, either with sweete touches or bold and masterly strokes, so to heighten up my Peece, or make it to stand off; as every way to be like him. In this onely doe I please my selfe, that those who have had the honour to be about his person; may here refigure a touch or two, that come something neare the *Life* of him. This, also, I assure my selfe of; that those nobler foes, who have sometimes beene made feele his Armes: will be amongst the liberallest to contribute towards his praises; if it bee but onely to take off something, from their owne losses; to justifie their owne disgraces, and to shew that no man inferiour to this *Character*, could have beene thus active and successfull upon them.

third, under *Dubalt*. In *Bavaria* a fourth, under the *Palatine Birkenfels*. About *Cullen* a fifth, under *Baudissin*: in *Alsasie* a sixth, under *Gustavus Horn*: and *Schwabland* a seventh, under the Duke of *Wirstemberg*, and Sir *Patrick Ruibven*. I reckon not the *Saxons*: the *Lunenburgers*, the *Bremers*, nor the *Hessens*; because under their owne Princes: though all, whilst he lived, by him as the *General Director of the Wars*, to be commanded. Adde to this, the strength of his *Confederacies*: all Princes, (excepting those of the *House of Austria*, some few *Italians*, and the *Catholike Leaguers*) being his Allies.

What now remaineth, but that the *Protestant Princes* of the Empire, doe goe on still, to pursue the aduantages, which he left unto them, to banish all personall jealousies, and mis-intelligences; to solder up all old ruptures and diuisions; to lay aside the standing upon their *punto's*, and the Heraldry of their *genealogies*; and to suffer the Warres to be conducted, not by Princes of the best Houses, but the greatest abilities, to husband their time and opportunities, to presse action, and not to bee too tedious in their consultations; to take advantage of what is both passed and present; to study how to conserve their owne estates, under that of the Empire; to communicate their counsels, and unite their Forces, for the reducing of *Freedome* and *Religion*. This if they be negligent in; then, all the travails of the deceased King; together with all their owne paines and charges: yea all their Forces, Armies, and aduantages; shall not long serve their turnes, but they must become the prey

prey of their enemies; an *Amphitheater* of Tragedies, and an example to posterity of confiscated estates, and of bodies incurably diseased.

And to say the troth, these Princes haue even un-till this present, gone so well on ; that their vnity hath quite dash't all the exultations of the contrary party : and they have trumped vpon the best of the others hopes ; and happily gone beyond the feares of their friends, that still doubted them. They have giuen the world to see, that the Schooling and lessōning of the King , hath made good impression in them : and that the losse of so great a patron, though it extreamely pull'd downe the side, yet hath it caused their motions to be *concentricall*, to goe all one way ; and by union, to redouble their vigours.

And yet all this notwithstanding , and that the King of Sweden hath left these Princes of his party, in so good estate, that they have the lesse caufe to lament the losse of him : they being well set up on their feet againe, and in ease to maintaine their owne freedomes. Admit the truth of all this : yet hath the aduerse party, which he gaue checke unto, recovered the better of the *Matte*, since this King is taken. Great are their advantages , by the death of this Prince : these few pellets of lead which kill'd him, being worth more to them , then a million of Ducats possibly could have advantaged them. And this losse of him , who was the *Sole Director* of all, gave not onely hopes , but probabilities, that now, when the busynesse was to fall to bee managed by a many ; the diversities of *Cheffes* , wou'd bee so apt

to foment ialousies and mis-intelligences : as that it would give more facility to the contrary party , to conserue what was not yet conquered , to satisfie some privately discontented; to unite their counsels; to recall exiled tranquility; and firmly, once againe, to re-establish a good peace over all the Empire.

If now, the Imperiall party please to make profit , by their former losses : then shall wee see them turne a deafe eare to all bloody and violent counsels; avoide the enforcing both of Princes and people, to turne desperate, remove all suspitions and bad correspondencies, regaine exasperated spirits, by sweetnesse , and seeke how to raigne by loue, rather then by terrore: no more attempting the breach of the peace and publike faith , under pretence of conscience: it being to be dealt withall by perswasion, and not by enforcing, as having to answer before another Tribunall, then that of mans Judgement. And hereunto, it appeareth, that this party ought so much the rather to aspire ; because they may have hope even (forthwith and hence forward) to continue in their owne rights and advantages: the death of this King, having cured them of a bodily feare they were deeply already in , least hee should have taken a higher flight, prentended towards new *Diademes*: and fully have verifid his *Anagramme*, by changing the name *Gustavus*, into *Augustus*.

What-evet in this dull *Charakter* of mine, may seeme defective; is abundantly supplyed in this most learned and concise *Epitaph*. Written by an Honourable Sonne of the Muses; and worthy the *Tombe-stone* of the great *Gustavus*.

Epigraphe.

SISTE VIATOR,
SNEC DESPONDE ANIMVM;
VT NEQVICQYAM SPERES,
NI MORI SPERES;
VIX EST QVOD METVAS,
NI VIVERE METVAS.

FATOCESSIT VITÆ MORTISQUE ARBITER SVMMVS:
PROXIMVM COELITIBVS NOMEN.

QVIN ILLVD EXIGIS?
DABO.

SED VT LITES LACHRYMIS,
REGI POTENTISS. PIENTISS.

GVSTAVO
QVO SEXTO NOVEMBERIS
NECI DATO

TOTA EVROPÆ FACIES MVTATA EST,
IN PLANCTVM SOLVTIS HUMANISS. QVIBVSCVNQVE.
QVIN MAIORA POSTVLAS?

ACCIPE.

ILLE QVI DISSIDIA PVBLICA, PACE TERMINARE;
PACEM, BONIS ARTIBVS EXCOLERE.

ILLE QVI OPPRESSOS IN SVVM IVS ASSERERE;
ASSERTOS, LIBERTATE DONARE;
LIBERTATEM, SECVRAM REDDERE

AGGRESSVS EST:

PROH DOLOR! INTERIIT:

SED VT SVMMVM ARDVÆ VIRTUTISEXEMPLVM AVDIAT:
NVLLVS, QVIPPE, POST HOMINES NATOS,

BONO PVBLICO
POTIORA INTENTAVIT,
GRAVIORA PASSVS EST.

ABI IAM, SI LICET, IN REM TVAM.



The Copy of the Swedish Conclusion.

By the

Princes and Peeres of the Kingdome
of Sweden: Which was vnamously conser-
ted unto by them, at their *Dyet* and *Assem-*
bly holden at *Stockholm* on the 14th.
of March, 1633.

The Originall was printed at *Stockholm*,
by *Ignatius Murer*.

WEE vnder-written, the Councell, Peeres,
Earles, Lords, Bishops of *Sweden*, Gen-
trey, Clergie, Officers of Warre, Citi-
zens, and the whole Commonalty who
have beeene convoked to this honoura-
ble *Assembly*; as well in our owne names
and behalfe, as also in the name and be-
halfe of all the Countries: doe hereby make knowne and certi-
fie. That whereas it hath pleased Almighty God of his pro-
vidence and good pleasure, so heavily to visit us in this King-
dome, and in so great a measure to afflict us, by taking un-
to himselfe (by bodily death) the renowned high and mighty
Prince and Lord, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of the *Swedens*
Gotes

*Gosbes and Vandales, Great Prince of Finland. Duke of Estland
and Carellen. Lord of Ingermanland, &c. and to translate his
blessed Maiestie (of ever happie and famous memory) out of
this vale of misery, into his eternall happiness and heauenly
joy: and to exchange his temporall Crowne into an ever-
lasting Diademe of glory: and so to have put a period, not
only to his Maiesties carefull and labourious life and dayes,
but also to his sufficiently noted and renowned Counsells,
worthy actes, courageous and vndaunted spirit; almost in-
credible, at leastwise wonderfull Victories, against part of
the mightiest and most powerfull Princes and Potentates of
Europe. And which wee chiefly must condole: in him it
hath pleased God to take from us our head, our King, our
father and *Pater patrie*: Vnder whose worthy, famous, and
most excellent raigne, we above all other Nations, in these
dolefull and calamitous times; have found our felues with-
out any opposition, in all security, safety and tranquillitie.
And which aggravates our misery, it hath not pleased God
to suffer any *Heyer-Male* to proceed from the loynes of his
said blessed Maiestie, to remaine upon, and to possesse his
Fathers seate. So that, not without reason, ours and the
Kingdomes care and danger is the greater, and we cannot but
so much the more take to heart this inestimable losse. Where-
fore, upon the Injunction of the Peeres and Councell of the
Realme, at their convening: we have thought good, vnamini-
tously and obediently to come together, in the feare of God,
and to take into consideration the present State of our Kings
Maiesties Heyer, as also the State our deare Kingdome. And
how the saame may be happily up-held and maintained: and
(next under the ayde and helpe of *God*) be defended against
all danger and opposition. To this end, we are all of us ioyn-
tly and willingly assembled here, and we haue pondered and
consulted together, of something which might best con-
duce to the good of the Realme. And at last, by the helpe of
the *Almighty*, and in the name of the *Blessed Trinity*; we
have closely united, and strongly bound and tyed our felues:*

and

and after this coniunction, promise, and obligement, among our selues, we have confirmed and established, That which is here underwritten, and as followeth.

1. Article.

Imprimis. Whereas the death of our blessed and renowned King, hath caused a Kingly raigne to cease among us : and the Caule so being, that there is no *Heyer-Male* left behind his Maiesy : nor any Children of any Hereditary Prince ; which might by undoubted right, succeed according to the Lawes and constitution of the Realme. We have not disapprooved of that, which was concluded at *Workoping*, Anno 1604, concerning the *Renewing of the Hereditary coniunction*; and concerning the *Daughters of our Kings and Heyer-Princes*: which in that assembly was confirmed and enacted. As also that, which unanimously and ioyntly was concluded by us here present, at *Stockholm*, Anno 1627, on the 4th. of December, as followeth. That in case his blessed and famous Maiesy should happen to decease : We did conclude, that his daughter the Princesse, the *High borne, Christina*, should be chosen for our *Queene and Inheritorix* of our Kingdome. And therefore at this time doe wee againe establish unanimously, (and that is consideration of the fashous and magnanymous acts and deeds, of the two worthy Kings; King *Gustavus the first*, and especially of King *Gustavus the last*, lately deceased: (whom iustly we may terme *Gustavus the Great*) by which two, and more especially by the latter, we have received admirable benefit and fame; and consequently, are bound to render all honour and respect, to this well-borne Princesse according to our former promise and obligation : and doe now renew, what we heretofore have maturely confirmed. That is to say; Wee doe declare, pronounce, and confirme, advisedly, unanimously, freely, and without constraint; The *high and mighty Princesse Christina, Daughter of his renomred Maiesie Gustavus Adolphus the Second and Great King; Queene of the Swedes, Gothes and Vandals*; lawfully chosen: as also *Hereditary*

*Hereditary Princeffe, Great Dutcheffe of Finland, Dutcheffe of
Eftland, and Carellen, our moft deare and gracious Queene.*
 And by these presents wee doe oblige our felues and our
 associates, confederates and Princes and Peeres of our King-
 dome, inhabitants and subiects of this Realme; to affoord
 her gratiouſe Maieſty, all true and due ſervice and obedience:
 and doe inaugurate her ſaid Maieſty, and eſtablish her, in
 whatſoever in righteouſneſſe may be anſwerable before God
 and Man. Inſomuch, that her Maieſty ſhall have full pow-
 er and Authority, to command us in all particulars. And to
 this end, as true faithfull and loyall subiects, we doe conſirme
 and ratifie the Lawes of the Realme, for her Maieſty. And
 moreover, we doe here promife and oblige our felues to
 ſtand for her Maieſties ſafety, good, and welfare, as well of the
 Kingdome; even upon the danger of our lives, and loſe of
 our goods. Provided, that her Maieſty, when ſhe ſhall come
 to yeeres, and full poſſeſſion of the Government and rule of
 the Kingdome; ſhall make aſſurance to us, and the whole
 State, of whatſoever may concerne the maintaining of all our
 liberties, lawes, and priviledges, &c. as the like hath former-
 ly beeene done by our late Kings, (in the beſt forme that may
 be) eſpecially by her Maieſties Father: his Maieſty of bleſ-
 sed Memory, King *Gulfavus* the 2d. and hath by the State of
 the Kingdome beeene approoved.

14 Article.

2.

Secondly, we conclude, that in caſe any one, (high or low,
 of whatſoever place, digni ty or quality, whether of the
 State of *Sweden*, or other parts ſubiect to the Crowne of
Sweden.) doe refuſe either with meaneſ, preſence, obe-
 dience, and all requisite ſubiection, to ſubſcribe and ſubmit to
 this our reſolution and eſtablishment: and ſhall dare to o-
 pone this Act of ours, or to bend his heart, eye, or hand, to
 any other whofoeuer it may be, Inhabitant within our Do-
 minions or forrainer: We doe hold, eſteeme, and declare the
 ſame party to bee a diſtracted and ſeparated member from
 our Body: and an enemy, yea Traitor of the Kingdome:
 and

and the same person who-ever it bee, being once convicted of a crime of this nature, shall bee punished without mercy.

3.

3^d. Article.

Thirdly, although it seeme not absolutely necessary, now to relate the former *Constitutions* and *Statutes*, made and concluded upon against King *Sigismundus* of *Polonia*, and his *Children*: which were grounded upon good reasons, and necessary proofes, yet notwithstanding, to remoove all obstacles and objections from the simply honest meaning people, We doe confirme and establish, by these presents: That this may be lawfully done, which we doe now, notwithstanding whatsoever hath formerly beeene concluded against King *Sigismund*, his *Children*, and *Descendants*. And therefore doe declare them to have no right or interest to the Crowne of *Sweden*, or to any part of the *Dominions* or *Jurisdictions*, there under comprehended: but all their right, and pretences, to be lost, void, forfeited, and in the lapse, from this time forth for ever. And if it should so fall out (which God forbid,) that any *Swedes*, or who-ever they may be; under the *Crowne of Sweden*, in high place and dignity: should unadvisedly goe about (either secretly or openly) to stand up in the behalfe of any of the *Children* of *Sigismundus* or his *Descendants*, to be received into the Kingdome of *Sweden*: or to yeeld them any footing within the *Jurisdictions*, or upon the Frontiers of the same Kingdome: We doe hold the same person (who-soever he be) for a pernicious and hay-nous Traitor, both to us and the whole State. And if any such, shall dare to stand out and persevere in so vile an infolency, he shall be sure to meeete with the merciless punishment, due to such a Traitor. And moreover, whosoever he be, that shall give eare, and leave to any such; and not in time make it manifest and knowne, with his intent that way, shall be subiect and lyable to the same punishment. In like sort shall all those be punished, that shall dare to harbour or lodge any such persons, without giving notice and intelli-

gence to authority. Now whereas at *Orebroo* in the yeere 1617. the 27th. of February : an expresse and absolute *order* and *decree* was establisched, agaist all such, by the Peeres and whole State of the Realme : we will and ordaine by these presents, that the same *decree* henceforward remaine as inviolable, as if the same were herein expressed word by word. Wherefore, It is now by us *concluded* and *decreed*, that the same *decree* of *Orebroo*, shall be fully executed; and that to the same end, all Lords, and Judges, Officers, &c. each according to his place and office, shall be bound to have an espeiall care for the execution and performance of the same, as he will otherwise answer it, at his perill.

4th. Article.

Fourthly, With unanimous consent and deliberation, we here confirme, renew, conclude and establish what formerly at other times *Assemblies* and *Diets*, hath concerning the *Service of God and his Church* beene concluded and settled: and doe generally, all of us, oblige our selues to remaine in the same *forme, discipline, and trash of Religion*; according to the revealed truth of Gods holy and heavenly Word, and the *Articles of our Christian beleefe*, contained in the 3. *Creedes*: that is to say, the *Apostles Creede*, the *Nicene*, and of *Atha-nasius*: together with the true and invariable and unalterable *Confession of Auspurg*. In a word, as it hath formerly beene solidely concluded, in the *Council of Vpsal*.

5th. Article.

Fifthly: Whereas our Queene as yet is not come to her compleate yeeres, and full age; so that she might be sufficient of her owne selfe and ability, to defend and Governe the Kingdome and the Realme: we could wish (and happy were we, if it had beene so) that there had beene a full *decree* and *order* made by his Maiestie of blessed Memory, and the Princes and States of the Realme; so that in the same there had beene comprehended, whatsoever in this respect we ought to have cleaved unto. But since it is otherwise, and must needs be so: and that we doe understand, that

that his renowned Majestie of blessed memory, did commit his intent and resolution concerning this matter, to the Councell and Lords of this State; and had often commanded and desired them, to conceive a right order concerning the same: which they having performed, and therein declared their opinion, and shewed the same to his Majestie, with his full approbation: yet notwithstanding, by reason of his sudden death, and other occasions thereupon ensuing, hath it not had its full effect: although wee may well wish it had. Therefore in this case, we have read and manifested the said order (made by his Majestie in his time) to some of the chiefe amongst us, and of our State: who, as they have found the same most sound and wholesome; so could we wish that the same were published to the common view and eyes of all men: and might be confirmed and ratified unanimously by us all, and so be published. But whereas we doe also perceiue and understand, that divers instructions and necessary appurtenances belonging thereto, by reason of the shorthenesse of time, could not conveniently be in readiness: we, notwithstanding, being desirous to further the welfare and State of the Realme, in all good manner of proceeding; and likewise, that his Majestie, our most gracious and renowned King (of blessed memory) his will and care (for which we are for ever bound to extoll his Majesties name and memory) may really be performed and executed: we doe especially all of us, in the name of the whole State and Realme, *desire* and *ordaine* that the same *decree* and *ordinance* of his Majestie, shall be put in execution and performed, in the best manner and forme that may be possiblly, for the good and welfare of our Realme and Countries, by the 5. chiefe States and Officers of the Realme: to wit. 1. The *Lord high Steward*, 2. *Marshall*, 3. *Admirall*, 4. *Chancellor*, 5. *Treasurer*. And in the absence of the one or other, or of any: the *Eldest of the Councell of State* shall supply the place. And these 5. shall be in lieu and place of Government of her Majestie, for the Kingdome of *Sweden*, un-till her Majestie be growne (by Gods grace) to perfect yeers.

cc 3

And

And this busynesse have we sufficiently pondered. For where as the said five States and Lords, have ever beeene of Councell with his Majestie of blessed memory : and have undergone and waded thorow , the most weightiest affaires of the whole Kingdome : wee have thought good unanimously with one generall consent , to ordaine and establish , as well for our *Associates* and *Brethren* , as for our selues ; that from henceforward , the five aforesaid *Grand and Chief Officers of the State and Realme* , and in either the one or the other his absence , the *Eldest of our Councell of Stockholm* , being of the *same Colledge and Assembly* supplying the place , for the welfare and managing of the State of our Kingdome , and the *Tuition of our Queen* , shall governe and beare rule , during the *Minority and Nonage* of her Maiestie : only in her name and stead , and without any prejudice to the *Realme or State* , or violation or breach of the *Lawes, Rites, and Priviledges* of the same: but rather powerfully for her Maiestie maintaining the *five brotherly Offices and State-Rankes*. To wit. *Comt-right Councell: Councell of War, Admiralty, Chancery, and Treasury or Exchequer*: as the same have beeene by former Kings instituted establisched and upheld , especially by our last King of blessed memory *Gustavus the 2^d*. Also , all dexterity shall be used and employed by them , for the maintaining and upholding of the *Swedish Rights, Lawes, Injustice, and Policy*, as farre as their vttermost industry and power shall be able to extend : defending , protecting , all manner of wayes , the Realme and Kingdome , and whatsoever depends upon it : In such wise , as they in their Conscience shall be willing to answer before *God, the Queen, and the State* , when they shall be thereunto called : And as these doe at this present oblige themselues to those that are , and hereafter shall be called , into Authority : and as they doe now oblige themselues by oath . On the other side , We the Peeres and Lords of the Realme , doe promise to yeeld unto these *five selected Chief Officers* : and to the *Eldest of the Councell* that shall supply either

ther of their roomes ; not onely all worthy respect and honour , but also all obedience and submissiue subiection : in whatsoeuer they shall require and command us , tending to the glory of Almighty God , the good and welfare of the Queene , and of the State and Common-wealth . And in case any one should goe about to oppose and to crosse this manner of proceeding , or government , either in deed or word : We shall by all our powers labour to supprese such insolencies , and to punish such parties , and to constraine them to true obedience .

6.

6th. Article.

Sixthly , Whereas our Kingdome and countrey is as yet in an open Warre and Hostility , against the Roman Emperour , and the *Popis League in Germany* : We professe our selues desirous and resolued to maintaine it (as the same hath not onely beeene undertaken , furthered , and happily maintained ; but sealed also , with the very blood of our most renowned and blessed King) even with our uttermost power and endeavours , untill it shall please Almighty God (in his due time) to establish and settle a happy and desired peace for the good of his Church . Whereas also it is most necessary , that wee Arme , strengthen and provide our selves , against other accrewing and newly growing enemies ; and to have a speciall care , to prevent all dangers and oppositions which may ensue : we have therefore ordered and ordained , and doe now will and ordaine , That the same *Editt* and *Proclamation* , which the last Harvest time was concluded and confirmed : shall with all speed and expedition bee published throughout the whole Realme and Kingdome : directly according to the same forme , as we first ordered : with condition , that all mens rights and priviledges shall thereby be kept inviolable . And by these presents we doe promise , and doe freely consent and grant : with and upon mature deliberation , that in case the neede and necessity of the Kingdome shall so require ; whether it be by reason of the enmity that we are already fallen into , or in respect of some

new

new enemies , which haply may make opposition and enmyty against our most gracious young *Queene* , and the State of this Kingdome ; in one manner or other : then we with life and goods are ready and willing , to maintaine our right and liberties : and to stand with all our might and ability , in opposition against all such, as shall dare to confront and withstand our proceedings.

7th. Article.

7.

Seventhly, We know well enough , that no Kingdome can possibly subsist without meanes : neither can any Warre be rightly managed, without great charges. And therefore, we have likewise thought fit and good, that the *Lille* and *Quarne Toll* or *Custome*, shall be continued for the good and profit of the Kingdome , according to the order and manner as the same is now raised and received. As also, that the *Messenger-ships* granted the last yeere , shall for this time goe forward and take place.

Moreover , if so be that the Warre in *Germany* should yet longer continue ; or if it shoulde happen, that our Kingdome and Countrey should fasten upon some other Warre and trouble; We doe likewise promise and oblige our selues ; That when thereupon we shall be required , by the Peeres States and Lords of the Realme : Wee will with all our meanes , power and abilities , stand and fight for our Religion , *Queene* , Kingdomes , and Liberties, whensoever necessity shall thereunto invite us. For wee have ever hitherto esteemed , the welfare of our Kingdome and State, to be our chiefest happynesse : and therefore have courageously adventured both our goods and lives upon it. To this wee oblige our selues , by these Presents.

That We in all these particulars above written , are resolved : and have unanimously , generally and particularly ; in our owne , and in the behalfe of our brethren , present and absent : as well unborne , as borne ; freely and willingly

ly consented, agreed, approoved and concluded; and there-
in sufficiently accorded: and doe promise, as faithfull reli-
gious and true sincere meaning Subiects, to performe the
same: Wee the *Councell, Statt, &c. of Sweden,* haue
Underwritten and Sealed.

Actum. At Stockholm the 14. of
March. 1633.

dd The



The Diet of Heilbrun.



nd that the Reader (for a Farewell) may perceive the present constitution of the affaires in the Empire; and in what good correspondency the Protestant Princes are at this present one with another; and how well disposed to the continuance of the warres, for so good a *Cause*: I will conclude my Booke, with that new League, of these 4. Principall Circles of the Empire, that is to say, The Franconian, Suevian, the Upper and Lower Circles of the Rhine; made in the Diet of Heilbrun in the Dukedom of Wirtemberg, 18. English miles from Heidleberg; in the moneths of March and April last past: that so my Story may end, as it begun; with a Diet. There were personally present at this meeting, the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Administrator, the Marquesse of Baden, the Count of Haraw, with the most of the 17. Earles of Westeraw. For the Prince Elector Palatine, and the Administrator Lodowick Philip, (Brother to the King of Bohemia) were there 4. Commissioners: whereof Colonell Peblitz being the chiefe; he sat above all the Princes, at the upper end of the Table; all the Propositions were directed towards him, and he had the opening of all letters, in place of the Elector Palatine. There were present besides, the Ambassadors

What Princes
were present.

sadors of other Princes, and the Deputies of the Imperiall Cities in these 4 Circles. The Lord Chancellor Oxenstiern, (by whose procurement this *Diet* had beeene convoked) had his lodging in the towne, and came not at all into the *Stare-houſe*, among the Princes : but ſent them in this *diſcourſe*, and these *Propoſitions* following : which were the grounds and mate-rials, for the *Diet* to worke upon. His ſtyle in the preſent *Diet*, was, *Councillor, Chancellor and Extraordinary Ambaf-fador, for the moſt Illuſtrious and High-borne, the Hereditary Heyer and Princeſſe of the Crownē of Sweden*. And with this Declaration, he began his *Propoſitions*.

Illuſtrious and Right Honourable Princes and States *Evan-geliacall* here assembled.

I will not too much trespaffe upon your patience, with an *Oxenſtiers* over-tedious recitall of the Caufes, upon which the High *Propoſitions*, and mighty Prince of ever glorious memorie, *Gulfavus Adolphus King of Sweden, &c.* was enforeed to take Armes ; and openly to make opposition againſt the *Roman Emperor Ferdinand the Second* of that name, and his confederates the *Catholike Leaguers* ; more and more, at that time, every day prevailing in their oppreſſions of the *Evangeliacall Electors, Princes and States* ; and of their Honours, priviledges, and immunitiess, all the *Roman Empire* over, yea, and moſt iniuriously, beginning to encroach upon the next neighbour Princes, and their Provinces : forasmuch as theſe things be notorious unto the world, and that the Justice of the Kings Armes, be by no man doubted of. And yet ſome briefe recapitulation, doe I thinkē convenient to make of them.

Moſt apparent it is, that his ſaid ſacred Maſteſty (now at reſt in the Lord) was without any formall denunciation of warre, infefted by the Emperor. His Ambaffadors, coming with the offer and meaneſ of a peaceable compounding of depending Controversies, moſt disgracefully entreated : yea, and (contrary to all lawes of nations and civility) not without ſcornefull affronts offered, turned home againe; and the
d d 2 whole

whole Treaty by that vsage , abruptly broken off with him . That his subiects of *Sweden* , even contrary to long usage , amity , and Covenants , heretofore , in generall , contracted with the *Romane Empire* ; and in particular , with certaine neighbour Princes and *Free-States* , have beeene disturbed in their Commerces , *Embargo's* laid upon their Ships , and fetters upon their faylers .

That the *Catholike Leaguers* , likewise , notwithstanding that among other *Electors* of the Empire they had beeene requested , that they would be pleased to forbear the making themselves parties in these differences , but rather to seeke how to find redresse for them : and notwithstanding , that at the request of the *French King* , confederated with his sacred Maiesty , there had beeene *Neutrality* granted unto the said *Leaguers* , if so be they thought good to accept of it : yet did they not onely refuse that *Neutrality* , but entred also into a stricker confederation of warres against his said Maiesty , and conjoyning their forces under their Generall *Tilly* , with those of his Imperial Majesty : they forbare not to doe their uttermost against the said King , whom out of pure necessity they by this meanes enforced , in hostile manner to oppose himself against all of them .

And notwithstanding that these and the like motives , (which for brevities sake be here omitted) doe sufficiently justifie his said Maiesties Armes-taking , being he was enforced to them : yet this is the thing above all the rest to bee considered ; the devises , namely , and vast projects of the *Houſe of Austria* : not onely famous in discourse all the world over , but so farre actually advanced already , and so neare to execution , that the very Principall Ports of the Dukedomes of *Mecklenburg* and of *Pomerland* , were really already feased upon , and the Imperialists wholly , by this time , busied in rigging out such a fleete , as might be able not onely to diſturbe the Commerce betwixt the neighbour Kingdomes ; but also at pleasure to divert it to other places . By this meanes should the *Spaniſh* yoake bee first

first put upon the shoulders of the Northerne people; and from thence, (as the fittest place for such a purpose) might it bee flung upon the necks of all other Kingdomes and Common-wealths in Europe. And just in the selfe same manner, and upon no other reason; was that most ancient Family of Mecklenburg, without hearing of their cause, or any legall formalities of Proceeding: actually and *de facto* despoyled of their iust Principalities and Royalties. The Dukedom of Pomerland, likewise, without any colour of right at all, contrary to all equity and deserving, was actually seased upon: yea, contrary to all covenants and sincere promises of the Emperour, more then barbarously entreated.

The most just King, therefore, seeing by the excellent acutenesse of that judgement which God from on high had endowed him withall, he was easily able to foresee, what all this was likely in the end to tend unto: resolved to connive no longer, at so prevailing and daily more apparent a mischiefe: but judg'd it to belong to him, and to his neighbour King (against whom also, these and the like projects were a hammering) in time to prevent this encroaching danger. Vnto this was his Majestie the more provoked, by the serious consideration of the *Romane Empire*, and the most lamentable condition which within these few yeeres last past, it had beeene brought unto: wherein he obserued, that those Princes that were nearest to him in the bond of Blood or Religion, were partly dis-seised of their Countries and their dignities, and either thrust into banishment abroad, or tyrannised upon at home, sometimes by their equals; and which worse is, even by their inferiours otherwhile domineer'd upon: and with skernes and contumelies abused. His Majestie perceived withall, how these Princes with their neighbours, were by a continuall feare kept under; their rights, without all respect, wrung from them: the fundamentall constitutions

of the *Empire*, overturned, and that the other party might at pleasure doe what they lusted: were the Princes overcharged with the Imperiall Armies. And to cast the fairer glosse of Justice, upon all this; was that most extremely prejudicall unto the *Evangeliacall Electors, States, and Princes*, the late *Imperiall Decree* pretended, for the restitution of the Church goods, (forsooth) and the execution of it.

By these devices, was there nothing of the ancient Empire, Customes and Constitutions, left unviolated: the peace, both of Church and Common-wealth, was disturbed; the *Sanctions and Constitutions* of the Empire, prophaned; the orders for convoking and holding of *Diets*, abused, broken, and subverted; the Articles and practice of Commerce with neighbour States, innovated and distractred: yea all places thoro the whole wide Empire, filled with complainings, teares and sighings. All these miseries, did so cordially affect that blessed King and most valiant Champion: (who being a *Christian, Evangeliacall* neighbour Prince, had also his share in these sufferings, and was by the pride and insolency of the adversaries, withall enforced to take Armes) that he supposed it well became him, not to bee forgetfull of the Princes of his owne blood and Religion: and that hee ought, withall, to give way unto that evident *Divine calling*, which pressed him to endavour the delivery of Gods people.

And what event hath followed upon this his resolution, from the first undertaking unto this very day: is sufficiently every where made manifest. Namely, that his Maiesty cleared, first of all, the Coasts and Port townes of *Pomerland* and of *Mecklenburg*, of the enemy: restored the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* againe into their Countries, freed the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, chased away the enemy, from the banks of the river *Elb*; and how after the *Victory of Leipisch*, he led on his owne Armies, against the *Catholike Bishopricks* and *Electorates*; and how those *Leaguers*, whose busynesse chiefly

chiefly was, which way, handsomelyest, to devide the lands of the *Evangeliacall Electors*, Princes and States, and to live upon their bloods: He made to play least in fight, and to shift themselves away out of their owne houses, which they, erewhiles, supposed had beene so surely founded.

By which victorious proceedings of his Maiesty, the whole course of the busynesse was so turned about againe; that the Electors, Princes, and States *Evangeliacall* in the Empire: who must suffer, before, and say nothing, tooke courage, now, to put their heads into the world againe; and to looke after the recovery of their ancient liberties and Dominions: yea, and to grow so bold upon it, as to goe thorow with the *Diet of Leipzich*, and to resolute upon such Conclusions there, as apparently made shew of their purpose to conserve and defend the declining liberties, both of their Country and their Consciences: yea and boldly to make demonstration unto the Emperour, of their being sensible of the vniustnesse of his Proceedings. And notwithstanding that before the *Decrees* of that *Diet* could be brought to perfection, they were by the ever-powring inundation of the Imperiall and *Leaguer* Armies, washt away into nothing, and their assumed weapons, beaten out of their hands againe: yet did the selfe same Princes after the *Leipzich Victory*, so well recollect their dejected courages, and the greater part of them by single and private confederacies, so inter-league themselves with the Majestie and Crowne of *Sweden*, that either by re-assuming the performance of the *Decrees* of that *Diet*, or by some other reall and actuall engagemēt: they did wholly commit themselves, unto his Maiesties sole direction and protection.

And thus, from that time untill this, with the said King, have they taken up Armes, together, with, and for, the Crowne of *Sweden*, against the Emperor and the *Leaguers*. Which Armes, hitherto, (the *Lord of Hosts* them graciously assisting) have they honourably maintained: and though with much perill, yet not without much happinesse.

His

His Maiesty, of ever honoured memory, had of long time, verily, desired nothing more; then how he might consolidate the *Evangelicall* Electors, Princes, and States, by a common league, into one and the same Body of Confederacy. But for that the power of the enemy, still with such fiercenesse pressed in upon him; he could never finde himselfe at so much good leisure, as the bringing about of so difficult a businesse would require of him. For which reason, He iudg'd it most conduing to the common interest, to enter into some particular, and as it were preparatory Confederacies in the meane time: that the Cause, notwithstanding, might effectually goe on, untill some fairer opportunitie of occasion might at length bee presented unto his Maiestie: as well to provide for his owne and their safties; as also to make up one common tye and obligation betweene them. Vntill the happiness of which opportunity, he thought to uphold and continue on the businesse, by the love of their common safeties; and by the counsels and assistance of the Crowne of *Sweden*: which, for the time being, might countervale a more formall Confederacie.

But for as much, as by reason of the continual Expeditions and Marchings from place to place, that he was still put unto, he could never have so much good leisure, as to begin those faire Courses, nor to settle a better order for the observing of *Military Discipline*: it is thereby come to passe, that not onely whole Provinces (as in such deadly warres it ever falleth out, and especially where the Field of Warre is so univerfall) have beeene wasted and much spoyled, but the licentiousnesse of the souldiery growne to that head, as that without a speedy remedy, the whole action must of necessity come to nothing. Verily, his Maiesty of everglorious memory, had thought of nothing more seriously: and out of the fatherlynesse of his care to the common Cause, had endevoured nothing more diligently, then to have made his personall residence amongst the Princes, in these *Upper Parts of the Empire*: and with his owne neighbourhoud,

bourhood, not onely the more to have assured the Protection of those *Upper Circles*, (according as he had begun already) but how also he might have beene personally present in a *Diet* of these foure *Circles*, for the concluding of some settled good orders, how the something decayed *Military Discipline*, might have beene repaired.

And notwithstanding that my selfe for mine owne part, was so stonyed with the dolefull and most lamentable death of my said deare Lord and Master, as that I seemed to have cause enough to give over any more dealing in these busynesses, and to leave the managing unto their handlings, whom so deeply it concerned: yet upon maturer consideration, how easily in the middest of these fierceneses of the enemy, there might betide some notable confusion, either amongst the Armies, or the Princes: and that the whole Cause might of its owne weightinesse, fall to so low a Condition as were not easie afterwards to bee repaired: and that by this meanes, all the Counsels, proceedings, desigues and victories of my said sacred Lord the King; would come to no other end nor purpose, but to the giving occasion to the finall and totall ruine of all his Confederates and Part-takers: I had rather lay aside mine owne private respects to my selfe, then so abruptly to desert the emplayment.

For this onely reason, therefore, have I so earnestly hitherto endeavoured, to uphold the busynesse, and courageously (according to my power) so to dispose of all opportunities, as might suite to the best advantage of the publike. This clause alone, does cleerly enough confute that scandall upon the dead King; How that vnder a publike pretension, hee sought meerly his owne private interest: which was the Empire. This if so, why should the Swedish kingdome now continue on the warres? Seeing their King is dead, and their young Queene, not capable of being Emperour.

The Diet of Heilbrun.

to treat and conclude with the Electors, States, and Princes of the Empire, upon that matter: and if I find the Confederates and Partakers so inclined, I have power from the Royall Heyer and Crowne of Sweden, in their names to continue on the worke to a perfection.

For mine owne part, therefore, I would see nothing with more gladnesse, then a *Generall Diet* of all the *Evangelicall* Electors Princes and States, of the whole sacred *Romane Empire*, together. But forasmuch as Summer is now neere at hand, and that the enemy is notably by this time, upon the growing hand; and earnest in his preparations for some new expedition: and for that these 4. *Upper Circles* are not onely round encompassed by the common enemies; but have them already within their very bowels: therefore, there being danger in delaies, and for that a *Generall Diet* could not be convoked without much time spending, and its peculiar solemnities, (by which meanes the whole busynesse would be in danger in the meane time to be rather ruined then remedied; so long it would be before a publike and ioynt determination could be agreed upon:) therefore have I thought it more necessary, (which also was sollicited and desired by divers States both of this *Upper Part* of the Empire, and the *Upper Saxony*) that upon the death of my said Soveraigne Lord the King, to deferre the procuring of a *Generall Diet*, and so to hasten on the *Diet* of *Ulm*, as out of hand to bring it to conclusion. This my purpose so soone as it was made knowne unto divers of the most Illustrious and right honourable Princes and States; there was occasion given and meanes projected for another new meeting, for the causes before rehearsed.

And here I render all due and humble thanks, both to the Princes and States personally here assembled, and to the Ambassadors of the absent, severally and altogether: for that upon the earnest invitation of my good intention, they disdained not to give this meeting. And now most earnestly doe I beseech:

beseech you all, that you would take to heart and with maturity consider upon the common estate of the *Cause Evangelicall*: and with your prudentest and providentest consultations, and readiest of your assistance, promote and set forward the common businesse of the Empire, the safety of your native Countrey, and your owne proper welfares. And most heartily doe I desire of God, that you may have profitable designes, happy expeditions, and all prosperous and desired successes. And for mine owne part, thus much I make free tender of, that I will at no time in any thing be wanting, in what I shall either judge to bee beneficiall to the Cause; or wherein I may any way bee serviceable. And this I promise both for my selfe, and in the name of the Hereditary Princesse, and Crowne of Sweden.

To the end, therefore, that the points necessary, may the better and more orderly be deliberated upon; and the Conclusion the better speeded: I have thought it necessary, that the chiefe heades of the *Deliberation*, which are in these *Convocatory letters* comprehended and exhibited; should bee distinguisla into *Articles*: most obsequioufly, and in the humblest manner entreating of your Highnesses, that you would bee pleased to make construction of them to the fairest fence; and so to accommodate and hasten forward your owne resolutions, as may be most advantageous for the present state of the businesse, and the imminentnesse of the danger.

I.

That all the *Evangelicall Electors*, Princes, and States of these 4. *Upper Circles* now assembled, would conclude an Union in the best forme; and confederate and colleague themselves together, with such firme conditions, as never to breake off againe, untill the desired scope: that is to say, the restitutio[n] of the *Evangelicall Electors*, Princes, and States, and the fundamental laws of the Empire, be obtained, and due satisfaction made, to the Hereditary Princesse and Crowne of Sweden.

The Chancellors Propositions.

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den. Much lesse descend into any particular treaties with the enemy ; but one be made to stand for all, and all as one man, untill the full and finall decision and determination of the whole businesse be agreed upon. And in case some one or other of them, should have a mind to fall off from the comton League ; that consideration be had , and a decree before hand made , how such a man ought to be thought of, and in what manner handled.

2.

It is also to be considered upon , now that the Emperour after his agreement made and sworne, having done nor intened nothing, but the oppression of the Empire and the loyall States in it : and the *Catholike Leaguers*, also, having added to the oppression as much as lay in their power; that is to say, helpt it forward , provoked one another to it, and backt one another in it ; and bath wrung or beaten the *defensive Armes* of the Electors, Princes and States *Evangelicall*, out of their hands : whether it were not the best course openly to declare both Emperour and *Leaguers*, enemies, and so long to hold them for such , untill satisfaction bee made unto the Crowne of *Sweden*, and unto the *Electors*, Princes and States offended.

3.

It ought also thorowly to be considered and agreed upon, how many Armes be to be sent against the enemy; and how they are from time to time to be re-enforced: and where moneys is to be raised for it.

4.

What is the best meanes for getting of moneies, Ammunition, Ordnance, and Victualls; and what paies are to be made unto the Generals: as also for the horses to draw the Ordinance, and the Baggage-Wagons ; and how all this money is to be raised.

5.

That the course of the whole Proceedings may the more orderly be carried, it will be necessary that some *Office of Direction*

resolution be legally set up and authorised : and that in other causes in like manner , some legall determination be now agreed upon.

6.

And consequently , after this *Office of Direction* be resolved upon and authorised ; it will be very worthy consideration in the next place , how the *military Discipline* may hereafter be better ordered , the Countries freed from the feares and insolencies of the sooldiery , and Trading restored : and though not every thing , yet how the grosser abuses may be remedied.

7.

And if it pleases the Kingdome of *Sweden* , any longer to engage it selfe in thefe actions ; it shall bee worthy consideration , how long it is fitting for it to stand engaged : and what affistance shall the said Kingdome of *Sweden* expect againe , if in the meane time it selfe shall happen to bee invaded , or come into other danger.

All thefe Articles , and whatfoever may else be thought upon in the time of the deliberation ; I doubt not , but the moft Illuftrious and Right Honourable States assembled ; will maturely confider upon : and will fo frame their refolutions , as neceſſity and their owne ſafety requireth. And thus farre forth , am I confident of all and every one of them. To whom againe in generall and particular , I make all humble tender of ſuch faire offices , in which I may best ſerve them.

Heilbrun March 8. 1633.

These Propositions were tended to the Princes , &c. the very firſt day of the meeting : that is to ſay , after the *Sermon* , and fo ſoone as they had taken their places in the *State-houſe*. To theſe , after mature deliberation , the Princes punctually thus anſwered , Article to Article.

1. That :

That they were all desirous to contract a most firme League amongst themselves, and with the Crowne of Sweden: and so long time constantly to hold it on, untill the desired liberty of Germany, as farre as concerned either Religion, or the Temporall Estate; were obtained: and that the Crowne of Sweden were satisfied their charges of the Warres.

2. They thought it better for the time, to forbear declaring the Emperour and *Leaguers*, enemies; until a generall Diet of the whole Empire: and in the meane time to set our a publike *Manefesto* and *Apology*, concerning their being provoked to this *Defensive*.

3. In the Third Article, they desired to consult with his Excellency, (meaning the Chancellor Oxenstiern.)

4. And if this Third were once agreed upon, they would deliberate concerning the meanes of maintaining the Armies.

5. They requested his Excellency that hee would be pleased to take upon himselfe the *Directorship*, for these foure *Upper Circles*; until the desired restitution were obtained. And least this charge should be to heauy for him singly; they thought to joyne some other *Affiliants* with him: and if he pleased, they would in every one of these foure *Circles*, appoint an Office of *Sub-Directorship*.

6. For restoring of the decayed *Discipline*, there shoule be new and certaine Orders conceived and authorized; the transgrelours whereof, shoule exemplarily be punished. The Regiments moreover shoule be reduced and reformed; the superfluous numbers of Officers restrained, and the government and punishing of offending souldiers, left unto the Magistrate of the place where they were enquaerted. Permissiōn shoule also, with the Magistrates knowledge, be unto the Subjects

Subjects and inhabitants of every place, to defend themselves, as they could, against plunderers. As for the billeting of the soldiers, it should be committed unto the Magistrate.

7.

And whereas the States of Sweden had pleased to declare their willingness for the entring into a stricter Union with them; they accepted of the offer with all due thankfulness. And for their parts, they were ready mutually to oblige themselves to procure them all due satisfaction, if his Excellency would be pleased to shew them how to doe it.

Faire Answeres, all of them. After this, had the French Ambassador his Audience: whose Oration was, To encourage the Princes to go on where the victorious King had left: He in his Masters name promising them all due assistance; and desiring to be taken into their Union. The English Ambassador, likewise, Sir Robert Anstruther, made his Proposition; which was a desire, chiefly, for the Restitution of the Palatinat. Concerning all which demands, to this purpose was the faire and satisfying Resolution of the Diet, which brake up about the twentieth of our Aprill.

1.

That that fourre Circles shall be firme one to another in a League offensive and defensiv: until such time as they can have vindicated their Liberties against the Emperour, whom they esteeme as a reall enemy.

2.

That to maintaine these warres, 16000. Horse and 40000. Foot, are to be leuyed.

The Resoluti-
on of the Diet.
These Arti-
cles, some Co-
pies contract
into ten.

3.

That the monies to be contributed, shall be raised according to the Taxe of the Imperiall Matricula, in the warres against the Turke: and the summe needfull, is to be 12. times as much, as one Contribution then was.

4.

That the Magazines are to bee appointed at Ausburg,
Ulm,

The Diet of Heilbrun.

Ulm, Norimberg and Franckfort.

5.

The Direction of the whole Warre, shall be carried by his Excellency the Lord Chancellor of Sweden Axel Oxenstiern: who shall manage both it and the Affaires of State, in the name of the Imperiall States and the Crowne of Sweden.

6.

To him shall certaine Commissioners be adjoyned, as Assistants, one or more from every Circle: and some likewise from the Imperiall Townes of this Confederation.

7.

That in every Circle there be a Sub-Dicctorian Office, to see to things belonging to the collecting and disbursing of the monies; the disposing of the Ammunition and the Victuals, and the well ordering of the Magazins, in their owne Precincts.

8.

That the Magistrates of every place, shall have full Jurisdiction in their owne hands; and dispose of the leuying and mustering places: as also of the Enquarterings and Render-vous, as they shall thinke fitting.

9.

That the Military Discipline shall be reformed; the weake Regiments broken, to compleate others: the superfluous Officers cashiered, Recruits made, strict order kept, and constant full Payes allowed.

10.

To this end, the first Contribution is to be raised in May next; and for the procuring of sufficient Summes, till the exhausted lands be somewhat restored: the neighbour States are to be sought for to lend monies. As for the Neutralists and such other members of the foure Circles as are absent, they are to be put under Contribution.

11.

The Palatinate is to be surrendred to the Administrator; and all State-holders, Governours and Commanders in the King of

of *Sweden's* name, are to be put downe: onely *Manheim* shall still keepe a *Swedish* garrison in it, that they may have asflurance to passe without let at all times, over the *Rhine* and *Neclear*.

12.

No Free *Quarters* are in any place to be allowed: but the fouldiers must live upon their payes.

13.

That these fourre *Circles* shall labour with the rest of the *Evangeliacall States* (of all which, a generall meeting is much wished for) to give sufficient satisfaction to the Crowne of *Sweden*.

14.

That the King of *France* shall be a confederate on the same conditions, as heretofore in the time of the King of *Sweden*. Other Princes may also come into the League.

15.

That the lands belonging to the Empire, shall by no meanes be alienated from it, by any contract with a forraigne Prince.

16.

That if any of the Confederate States or Townes in these fourre *Upper Circles*, fall off from this League, without hostile constraint; they shall be first admonished: and if they then returne not, to be held and dealt withall as an enemy.

The Lord Chancellor was offered to be Generall of all the Forces: which he modestly the first time refused: but being the second time put to him, he accepted it. And thus you see the *Palatinat* in teartnes to be restored, *Heidleberg* Towne and Castle are since rendred: the warres goe well hitherto. And this is some comfort, for the death of the King of *Sweden*.

FINIS.

ff

A

A Table drawne by way of a *Journall*
or *Diary*, to shew where the King and *Walenstein*
still were: and what they and their Armies did,
upon those dayes, that are mentioned
in the Maignant.

This belongs to the *Third Part.*

<i>The King.</i>	<i>Walenstein: and Bavaria.</i>
July.	July.
5 } About Norimberg: and 6 } bath some smaller skir- 7 } mishes with the Impe- 8 } rialists. &c }	5 } Sends abroad to take up 6 } the Posts and Townes 7 } of the Country. &c }
11 Oxenstiern sets out, to- wards the King.	
20 King sends out Wippen- horst to beate a Convoy.	20 Sends Holck towards Mil- nia.
22 } Oxenstierns and Hessens 23 } Army, in Franconia. &c }	
27 King learnes out Walen- steins Magazine.	
30 Dubatell takes Freyen- stat: and the King de- feats Sparre.	30 Bavaria writes to Pappen- heim.
August.	August.
1. The Kings Oration.	Some skirmishes betweene com- manded Partees, in the be- ginning of this moneth.
4 } Parties sent abroad into 5 } the Countrey.	
8 Payes his Army.	
10 } Oxenstiern and Duke 11 } William Weymars 12 } Army, moove one to- wards another.	Partees abroad.

The

- | <i>The King.</i> | <i>Walenstein and Bavaria.</i> |
|---|--|
| August. | |
| 13 Duke Bernard and Banier ioyne
with Oxenstiem and Duke | 13 Holck takes Zwicka. |
| 14 William. | 16 }
17 Holck spoyles Misnia.
8c }
21 Walensteins trenches attempted. |
| 17 The Armies come to Bruck. | |
| 18 The King comes to view them. | |
| 21 They joyne with his Army and
Walensteins Trenches attempt-
ed. | 21 Walensteins trenches attempted. |
| 22 The fight continues. | 24 The great fight. |
| 24 The great fight for the old Castle. | |
| 26 The King formes a new Campe,
hard by Walensteins. | |
| 29 Partees sent abroad. | Partees abroad. |
| 30 September. | September. }
All done by commanded Partees. |
| Several small Actions. | |
| 4 Consultations with the Norim-
bergers about discamping. | 12 Walenstein dislodgeth. |
| 5 Kept Holyday. | 13 Gallas besieges Lauft. |
| 8 The King dislodges. | 14 Walenstein comes to Forcheim. |
| 9 Sits downe at Neustat. | |
| 13 Removes the army to Winshaim. | |
| 14 Devides his Army. | |
| 15 Goes towards Norimberg: but
returnes to goe for Bavaria. | 21 Summons Culmbach. |
| 21 At Dunkenspiel. | 24 Goes to Bamberg. Gallas spoyles
Voitland. |
| 22 At Nordlingen. | 25 Bavaria parts with him. |
| 25 Mitzwall yeelds up Rain. | 29 Walenstein takes Bayreit. |
| 27 The King defeats 400. Crabats
about the Lech in Bavaria. | October. |
| October. | 1. Takes Coburg; and Gallas Chem-
nitz. |
| 1 Passes the Lech. | 3 Beaten from Coburg Castle. |
| 2 Recovers Rain. | 5 Holck and Gallas ioyne in Misnia. |
| | ff 2 The |

The King.

October.

5 At Neuburg upon the Danuby.

6 Prepares to besiege some townes in Bavaria.

8 Retires to Nordlingen.

12 Kniphausen takes Lauff.

13 King pursues, and defeats Münnich.

15 King returnes to Norimberg.

17--goes towards his Army.

21 Recovers up to his Army.

22 Castiers the English & Scottish.

23 Comes to Arnstat.

28 Musters at Erfurt.

November.

1 Comes to Naumburg.

2 His religious speech to the people.

3 Entrenches.

4 Hath Coloredocs Letter brought him.

5 Falls amongst Walensteins Quarters.

6 The victory of Lutzen.

7 The Kings body embaultmed.

Walenstein and Bavaria.

October.

4 Holck and Gallas take Friberg.

5 Walenstein goes towards Voitland.

8 Takes townes in Voitland.

9 Comes to Plaun.

11 Formes a Camp at Weida.

12 Holck and Gallas take Wurtzen.

13 Walenstein mooves towards Leipsich.

14 Sends some Horse to brave it.

18 Summons it.

19 Takes Weissenfels.

20 Besieges Leipsich.

21 Takes Leipsich towne.

23 Takes the Castle.

25 Takes other townes in Misnia, &c.

28 Pappenheim ioynes with him.

November.

1 Sends backe some Horse to Leipsich: and remooves his Army to Weissenfels.

4 Sends Pappenheim to Hall: and mooves to Lutzen.

5 Prepares for the Battell.

6 Overthronne, and retires to Leipsich.

7 His Army flies in disorder towards Bohemia.

&c

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F I N I S.



An Elegie on the King of S V V E D N.

What sad newes doth the curious strive to heare ?
So sad ; he cannot safely live, and feare ?
I see in every eye a terror strooke,
A griefe too great for credit ; since we looke,
On Kings, as if they were not clay and dust,
Vaine hopes ; in whom alone, men vainely trust.
Say if at once, the great *Gustavus* dy'd
In fight ; such as would adde to *Cesar* pride.
A death Triumphant, at whose spreading fall
The Empire groan'd, as if it t' expired withall.
See how the cunning foes securely barke,
Venting their malice from truth hating darke,
Reade their State-faces, for their hearts none can,
But he who measures Heaven with a span.
Observe their joy, for such a barbarous thing,
As joy for losse, of a most manly King.
What did you feare day-Owles ? he would un-Crowne
Your Triple-head, or breake your Idols downe ?
He sure had done it, but that God did see,
.It was not much to doe, by suchas he :
He saw we onely lookt upon his sword,
And forgate him, who conqueres, by a word ;
Since then, so much on miracles you stand,
God can raise up sothe weake and feeble hand,
Flyes, Vrmine, Frogs ; such as did *Pharaoh* fright,
A Lance of Bultush, and a Lambe to fight.
God sure will doe it, and his blood exact,
At their soule soules, that joy in such a fact.
It is a souldiers trade, and pride to kill,



He

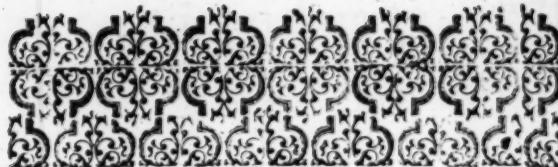
He may more safely doe, then you wish ill.
Then doe not triumph on a Lyon dead,
Whom living, all your men at armes did dread.
Starting aside, as doe the fearefull brood,
From his sterne eye that rules the gloomy wood.
O thou wilt be long liv'd in *Austrians* feare,
When thy great name shall strike their Nephewes care.
Yet let us mourne thy losse, to all but thee :
Who now art mixed with eternitie,
So was he borne, as he the heire had beene,
Of skilfull warre ; and victory his twinne :
So didst thou shew thy day, and clost thy Eeven,
As some new Planet had appear'd in Heaven.
Predominant on Hills, and Vales, and Woods ;
Vnaccest Marshes, and resiling Flouds.
Witnesse thy swift march on the various soyle
Of Germa. ⁱ pased, rather with power, then toyle.
So art thou come and gone ; as thou wert sent,
To shew what God can doe, not what he meant.
For hadst thou liu'd one yeere above that day,
Vien had beene thy seate, and *Rome* thy prey.
But it was time to dye : least men had said,
He was not mortall untill he were dead.
And now he lives againe so full of glory :
His deeds resist the credit of his Story.

Upon



Upon the glorious King of S V V E D E N.

Seke not (fadd Reader) here to find,
Entomb'd the Throne of such a mind;
As did the brave *Gustavus* fill:
Whom neither time nor death can kill.
Goe and read all the *Cesars Acts*,
The Rage of *Seythian Cataracts* ;
What Epire, Greece, and *Rome* hath done :
What Trophies *Gothes* and *Vandals* wonne.
Reade all the worlds *Herick Storie*,
And learme but halfe this *Heroes glorie* ;
These conquered living : but life flying ,
Reviv'd their foes, He conquer'd dying :
And *Mars* hath offered as he falls,
An *Hecatomb* of Generalls.
The great *Comparer* could not tell,
Whence to draw out his *Paralell* :
Then doe not hope to know him here ;
For whom earth was a narrow Sphere :
Nor by a search in this small narrow roome,
To find a King so farre above a Tombe.



Vpon the King of BOHEMIA.

Say (Reader) it is vaine to flie,
D'ath's universall Monarchy.
Mankinde hath no repose but one :
A bed of ~~dust~~, curtain'd with stone.
Here lies a King whom envie must,
Acknowlede to be good and iust ;
A Prince unflattered, worthier farre :
Then his owne fame, or such as are,
Pure gold by strong afflictions tried,
By hope and patience mortified ;
Religious Martyr, *Anstrians* hate :
Vuchang' : in all the powers of fate.
In this Tombe onely now at rest ;
Vntill the rising of the blest.

It is enough this Tragedie to tell :
This is the Prince for whom *Gustavus* fell.

An

A N ELEGY,

Vpon the most victorious KING of Sweden, *Gustavus Adolphus.*

Like a cold Fatall Sweat which Vshers Death,
My thoughts hang on me: and my labouring Breath
Supt up with Sighes: My Phant'ly bigge with Woes
Feeles two Twinn'd Mountaines struggle in her Throes,
Of boundesse Sorrow one, T'other of Sinne;
Forlesse let no one rate it, To Begin
Where Honour Ends. In Great *Gustavus* flame
That Stile burnt out, and wasted to a Name
Does barely live with vs. As, when the Snuffe
Which fed it failes, the Taper tarmes to Stuffe.
With this poore Snuffe; This Aiery shaddow we,
Of Fame and Honour must contented be;
Since from the vaine grapse of our wishes fled
Their glorious Substance is, now *He is Dead.*

Speake it againe, and Lowder; Lowder yet:
Else whilst we heare the Sound we shall forget
What it delivers. Let hoarse Rumour cry,
Till she so many Echoes multiply,
Those may, like numerous witnessses, confute
Our unbelieving Soules, that would Dispute
And Doubt this Truth for ever. This one way
Is left our Incredulity to fway;
To waken our deafe Sense, and make our Eares
As open and dilated as our Feares;
That we may feele the Blow, and feeling grieve
At what we would not feine, but must believe:
And in that horri Faith behold the World,
From her proud height of Expectation hurl'd,
Stooping with Him; As if Shee strove to have
No lower Center now then *Swedens Grave.*

O ! could not all thy purchas'd Victories,
Like to thy Fame, thy Flesh immortalize ?
Were not thy Virtue, nor thy Valour charmes,
To guard thy Bodie from those outward harmes,
Which could not reach thy Soule ? could not thy Spirit
Lend somewhat, which thy Frailtie might inherit
From thy Diviner part, that Death, nor Hate,
Nor Envies bullets ere could penetrate ?
Could not thy early Trophēe, in sterne fight
Torne from the *Dane*, the *Pole*, the *Muscovite* ?
VVhich were thy Triumphs Seeds, as pledges Sow'n,
That, when thy Honours harvest was ripe grow'n,
VVith full Summ'd wing thou Falcon-like wouldest flie,
And cuffe the *Eagle* in the Germane Skie :
Forcing his Iron Beake and Feathers feele,
They were not proofe aginst thy Victorious Steele.
Could not all these protect thee ? or preuale
To fright that coward Death, who oft grew pale
To looke Thee and thy Battailles in the face ?

Alas they could not. D^rastic gives place
To None. Nor is it seene that Princes Lives
Can saved be by their Prerogatives.
No more was Thine : who c^d of d in thy cold Lead,
Do^t it from thy selfe a mournefull Lecture read,
Of mans short dated Glorie. Learne you Kings !
You are like him, but penetrable things :
Though You from Demi-Gods derive your Birth,
You are at best but Honourable Earth ;
And, how-ere Sifted from that courser bran,
Which doe Compound and Knead the Common Man :
Nothing's Immortall or from Earth refin'd,
About you, but your *Office* and your *Mind*.
Here then breake your False Glasses, which present
You Greater, then your Maker ever meant :
Make truth your Mirour now; Since you find all
That flatter You, confuted by His Fall.

Yet,

Yet since it was decreed, Thy Lifes bright Sunne
Must be Eclips'd, ere Thy full Course was runne ;
Be proud, Thou didst in Thy Blacke Obsequies
With greater glory Set, then others Rise.
For in thy Death, as Life, Thou heldest one
Most just and regular proportion.

Looke how the Circles drawne by Compasse meet,
Indivisibly joyned head to feet,
And by continued Points, which them unite,
Grow at one Circular and Infinite :
So did thy Fate and Honour now contend,
To match Thy brave Beginning with thy End.
Therefore Thou hadst, in stead of Passing Bells,
The Drums and Cannons Thunder, for thy Knels.
And in the Field Thou didst Triumphing Die,
Closing thy Eye-lids with a Victorie.

That so by thousands, who there lost their breath,
King-like thou mightst be waited on in Death.

Liv'd *Plutarch* now, and woul'd of *Cesar* tell,
He could make none, but *Thee*, his *Parallell*.
Whose Tide of Glorie swelling to the brim,
Needs borrow no addition from Him.

When did *Great Inesse* in any clime
Atchieve so much, and in so small a time ?
Or if He did, yet shalt Thou in that Land
Single for Him, and unexampled stand.
When ore the *Germanes* first his *Eagle* towr'd,
What saw the Legeons which on them he powr'd ?
But Massie Bodies, made their swords to try,
Subjects not for his * Fight, but Slaverie.
In that so vast expanded pece of ground,
(Now *Sweden's* Theater and Tombe) he found
Nothing worth *Cesars* valour, or his feare ;
No *Conqu'ring Army*, nor a *Tilly* there :
Whose strength, nor wiles, nor practice in the warre
Might the fierce torrent of thy Triumpes barre,

* Magis trium-
phati quam vi-
tia. Tacite de
Mon. Germ.

But

But that thy winged Sword Twise made him yeeld,
Both from his *Trenches* beat, and from the *Field*.

Besides, the *Romane* thought he had done much
Did he the *Bankes of Rhenus* only touch :
But though his March was bounded by the *Rhine*,
Not *Oder* nor the *Danube* Thee confine ;
And, but thy Frailty did thy Fame prevent,
Thou hadst Thy Conquests stretch't to such extent,
Thou might'it *Viena* reach, and after span
From *Mulda* to the *Baltick Ocean*.

But Death hath Spann'd Thee. Nor must we divine
What Heire thou leav'st to finish thy Designe.
Or who shall Thee succeed, as Champion
For Liberty and for Religion.

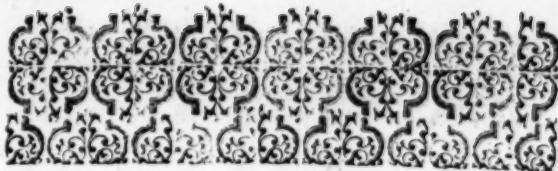
Thy Taske is done. As in a watch the Spring
Wound to the height, relaxes with the String :
So thy Steele nerves of Conquest, from their Steep
Ascent declin'd, lie flackt in thy last Sleep.

Rest then *Triumphant Soule* ! for ever rest !
And, like the *Phanix* in her Spicy nest,
Embalm'd with thine owne Merit, upward flye,
Borne in a Cloud of Perfume to the Skie,
Whilst, as in deathlesse *Urnes*, each noble Mind,
Treasures thy Ashes which are left behind.

And if perhaps no *Cassiopeian Spark*,
(which in the *North* did thy Rising marke)
Shine ore thy Hearse : The breath of our iust Praise
Shall to the Firmament Thy vertues Raise,
Then Fixe, and Kindle them into a *Starre*,
Whose influence may Crowne Thy Glorious Warre.

H E N R Y K I N G.

On

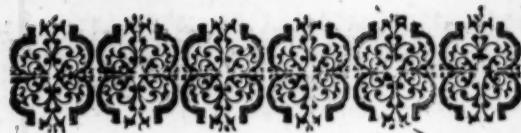


On the famous C H A M P I O N of Christendome, G V S T A V I S A D O L P H Y S King of SVVEDEN, &c.

C An Christendome's great Champion sinke away
Thus silently into a bed of Clay ?
Can such a Monarch die, and yet not have
An Earthquake for to open him a grave ?
Did there no Meteor fright the Vniverse,
Nor Comet hold a torch unto his hearse ?
Was there no clap of thunder heard to tell
All Christendome their losse ; and ring his Knell ?
Impartiall Fates ! I see that Princes then,
Though they live gods, yet they must dye like men ;
And the same passing bell must toll for them,
Which rangbut now, the beggars *requiem*,
When such a soule is from the earth bereaven,
Me thinkes there should be triumphs made in heaven :
And teares should run at Tilt at his decease,
To welcome him into a place of Peace :
Who, though he made warre, yet did alwayes strive,
Dying in warre, to leave peace still alive.

¶ ¶

Upon



Vpon the most puissant and victori-
ous Prince and Souldier, *Gustavus adol-*
phus King of Sweden, &c.

Tis sinne to weepe, or praise : oh let me vent
My Passion only in astonishment
Who sheds a teare for thee, brave Swede, thus flaine,
His eyes doe penance for his weaker braine.
And yet those eyes themselves, deserve this doome :
Which thus mistake a Trophee for a Tombe.
Or else, Thy foes may weepe as then they did,
When as thou dy'dst : but all their teares were blood,
Oh what a turp'lt, what a sea was forc't,
Of tribute-groanes, and teares, to waft one ghost ?
No way, but death, they had, to flye thy face :
Thou quir'dst thy body, to pursue the Chafe,
But, who pretends thy praise in best expression,
Endicts his judgement of confest presumption.
Bold tongue, touch not that head, that heart, that hand,
Which brought on's knees, when he did tiptoe stand,
The pride of *Austria*, back'd with all, but heaven ;
Himselfe of all, but of himselfe bereaven.
Thus having plum'd th' *Imperiall Bird*, alone,
Vpon those Eagle-wings to heaven he's flowne.
Why should he stay on earth ? The game is done.
Others can part the stake, which he hath wonne.
Tis low ambition, underneath his story,
To aime a any Crowne but that of glory.
Then Cannon play, His bodie's sacrificed :
He is not canon'd : no, Hee's canonized.

On



On the King of SVVEDEN:

An Elegie.

If thou be set in death, bright Northerne starre,
That wert the Cynosure o' th' Germane warre,
If (sublime soule) th^t hast chose to disapeare
In our horizon, to informe some sphaere;
(For, our incredulous hearts would misbelieve
Themselves faine, out of grieve, they have to grieve,
And Fame and Fate are tender, yet t' addresse
A truth so horrid to the world by expresse)
Twas, left thy superstitious legions shou'd
Have idoliz'd an arme of flesh and blood.
Oh thy prophetique soule that predivyn'd
This cause, as preſcious of th' Eternals minde !
So when God saw his Israel apt t' adore
The glorious instrument, that waſted ore
Their Sea-fav'd tribes from *Pharian* servitude,
He snatch'd that rich dust from the multitude.
Or, wert thou (Brave Prince) thus subdue'd, to fnew
Twas to no thift of Empire we ſhould owe
Those rare atchievements, but to teſtifie
Heaven was thy prize, thou mad'ſt ſuch ſhift to die :
Or, both to ſatisfie and yet convince
The jealous feares of every rivil Prince,
That at the Mountie gaz'd with envious eye,
Wert thou thus pleas'd un-emperord to die,
For, thou hadſt elſe characterd, in thy name
And deeds, *Augnſtus* for thy Anagramme,

And all th'extracted quintessence, thy spirit:
Of all th'heroique *Cesars* did inherit;
Only that thirst of purer glory stood
Betwixt thy breath and such a publique good.
So have I scene a Falcon (to soare high,)
Lessen her selfe to invisibility:
The glimpse of this made thee, so oft, expose
Thy penetrable parts to shockes of foes,
That one would thinke thou heldst intelligence
With th'adverse Cannon, or some *Thetis* drench.
Had fortified thee Cap a Pee 'gainst steele,
In all but (what foe never saw) thy heele,
The sea-sequestring Chiefc, whose sceptred Rod
Establish'd freedome to the Church of God,
Had yet his period, and from *Nebohs* toppe
Was faine, by Prospective, to taste that hope,
He might not live to grapse i'th promis'd Land,
Whose seizure heaven kept for a *loftmaw* hand:
So thou (Mosaique Prince,) this faire foundation,
By thee being laid to unslave the Germane nation:
Dy'dst, though confin'd, content; Posterity
Shall raise a roofe will crowne their liberty.
Propitious heaven, some brawnie nerves assigne
To give perfection, to this high designe,
Meane time, grim Death, and greedie Destinies,
Yee were not, in some grave opinions, wise,
To snappe his twine that sent you monethly shoales
To plie your Stygian barch, of war-slaine soul's:
Now that his death hath dul'd *Bellonae* rage
You may goo court Disease, or languid Age,
Or blind bold Empericks murthering ignorance,
That quashes more lives then Art can adva ce,
To keepe your Ferry custom'd, or depend
On sines and plagues to expedite mans end
Since Fates grand factor for mortality,
By your improvidence hath gain'd to die.

He

He that allai'd *Bavaria's* lofty puffs,
Ruffled and discompos'd the *Spaniſh* Ruffe :
Reduc'd *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate*
Regain'd, check'd *Colein*, and gave *Menza* the mate,
Prick'd the swolne tympanie o' th' *Austrian* pride,
Taught her refluxes to the Catholique tide.
Enforc'd that oyle of Empire from his brinke
Of Vaſtneſſe, downe to Reasons Center sink,
That re-invested truth and libertie
In all his visits, through faire *Germany*,
That tooke-in Cities with his very name,
And *Cesar-like*, Came, Saw, and Overcame.
That having done th'Imperiall office, (sav'd
Religion.) yet th'Imperiall wages wav'd,
With th' petard of whose Authentique word
All ports flew ope : upon whose lightning ſword
Sate wing-clip'd victory, who in ſterne fight
Wonne with his pike more then his pen can write :
The fount of indeſicient Stratagems,
Th' *Affor* of inthrall'd Diadems,
That knew no quarrell, but the publicque right,
Whose valour fore'd all fortitude to flight;
That rush'd through danger, as if none were neere,
When nothing elle was nigh, fea'd only feare :
Who though he could not daunce the *Brawles*, yet, in
His compleat Steele could tread a Matachin,
And without Mimmick complements or Cringes,
Had th'active Rhetoricke that turn'd the hinges
Of all the grand deſignes of Christendoine,
And th'art, or to convert or conquer *Rome* ;
That like the *Danby* rising but a ſpanne,
Grew boundleſſe as his *Baltique* Ocean,
And by fine force, no *Simons* flye ſurprise,
Got, (*Alexander-like*) faire victoress.
That like the Sunne, which from his early East,
Gallops in twelue houres progreſſe to the West,

In

In eight moneths (as his historic reports)
Conquer'd his eighty Cities, Castles, Forts ;
That, humble at his rise, knowing how nigh
Supremacie borders on tyrannie,
Yet (*Phebus*-like) concentrated at his set
His beatnes, to cleare with glory, Natures debt ;
That had the skill so rarely to combine,
Sweetnesse with stricnesse in his discipline.
That what the rigid Captaine could not bring
To bow, crept to the milde Majestique King.
(And yet how oft hath he the King declin'd
To unscrew a Centinel or Perdues minde)
That par'd those Vultur-talons, and that beake
R'envers'd, that under *Loves* bird joy'd to wreake
Their bloody teene on the recresent breast
O'th publike weale, for private interest.
And (skie-borne *Perses*) from the ravenous jaw
Of *Fridland*, freed th'enchain'd *Andromeda* :
He, he is flaine, and yet the stupid world
Is not with him, backe to her *Chaos* hurl'd.
For, staulking Eulogies, and talking tombes
Are Popular incense, such as Fortunes groomes
Are sacred with : and now each Burgers herse,
Yawnes for her hachments, and her teares in verse ;
And shall He have no more ? He whose retreat
Was Crown'd with victory ; on whose last sweate
(The stame whereof had fainted u.) a flood
Waited in stead of teares of *Romane* blood,
Whose ca np (the *Campus Martius* of the North,
Where he sow'd soulidiers) brought Commanders forth,
Whose forward springs were differenc'd from ours,
By putting winter sieges forth for flowers,
Whose eager purfuits of adventures hard,
Rivers nor Rocks nor Forrests could retard ;
Beyond whose courage no *plus ultra's* were,
And yet no soulidiers wants beneath his care,

Whose

Whose *Mausolean* monument is All,
That *Germany* shall henceforth freeborne call;
And must He have no more? fond Griefe I no more!
This sea that hath no bottome, knowes no shore.
Yet thankes to Fortune, this grand-sacrifice
(That did in him whole hecatombes comprise)
Was, like a Romane expiation, lead
To death with wreathes of honour on his head.
Shee that sits Pilot at the Sternes of States,
And all these casuall conquests moderates,
Saw that vnlesse this Worthies blood were spilt,
The fortune of the warre would over-tilt
To us: and *Sweden* proving Conqueror
Had triumph'd both'ore *Ferdinand* and Her,
Therefore to appease his Griefe, to peize our pride;
And ballast Fortunes Barke, *Gustavus* dyde.

Vpon



Upon the King of Swedens death.

Barre Prince, although thy fate seeme yet too strange
To be believ'd in Paules, or on the Change,
Though we lay wagers, and doe gladly choose,
To take that side where we are sure to loose.
VVe but deceive our grieve, and faine would say
Thou liv'st, to give our sorrow longer day :
Were there no reason else, this might suffice
To prove thee dead, that we want victories.
We heare of no townes taken, and the Foe
Hath beene too long without an overthrow.
In thee the fortune of the warre exir'd,
And now what can be done to be admir'd ?
To what use serves thy Army, but to weepe !
Whose greatest conquest now must be, to keepe.
But when thou didst command the valiant host,
How did thy victories out-fly the post ?
How were they here before the saile, or wind
That brought the newes, but still left more behind ?
One scarce could travell so much ground so fast,
As thou didst overcome : such warlike hast
VVent with thy deeds, which did all letters stuffe,
That we could not beleieve them fast enough.
VVith thee to conquer was the same as passe :
Anothers long siege, but thy journey was :
And they which did thy sudden marches see,
Say 'twas thy progressie to take *Germany* ;
Indeed, what was the City, or the place
That thought it not a siege to see thy face;

And

And did not to thy single terror yeeld
More then thy troopes, who only mad'st the field ;
For, when, at first thy Armie was so small
That the Foes poorest Regiment was all,
Who seeing with brave scorne that venturous fight,
Might thinke thou cam'st to Muster, not to fight,
Yet thou mad'st both sides equal, and with thee
Thy few men prov'd more then thy foes to be.
Who when he lost the day found that the warre
Lay more in thee then in his numbers farre :
Which made him, when his Ensigne he forsooke,
To flie, not from the Ordnance, but thy look,
For though the Cannon plaid, and bullet flew,
Thou mad'st the battle, and from thee they flew,
Who could'st instruct thy Engins; scarce a shot
Went from thy souldiers Gunne without a plot.
And dangers which it felt could not impart
Were still increast and made more sure by Art :
As if it had not beene enough to kill ,
Vnlesse thou didst subdue the foe in skill ,
Which from thy Childhood thou hadst learn'd so well,
That thou didst then things for the Chronicle,
And mad'st thy name great, even when so young,
Almost to use thy sword before thy tongue.
And farre beyond thy yeeres, thy face did move
Feare in thy neighbours, when in Ladys love,
But all thou didst then in thy younger age
(Although enough for others) did preface
Onely thy riper Conquests, and did try ,
By lesser warre to conquer *Germany* ,
Now every march was project, and to move
Did Stratagem and a new conquest prove.
Hadst thou been then when the unpractis'd age
Did know no other valour but their rage,
When *Alexander* met his *Asian* Foe,
Whose souldiers were no Army, but a shew ,



Each

Each man so spruely drest, each horse so gay,
And onely trim'd to make the baver pray,
Thy deeds had then beeene wonder, and leſſe Art
Had conquer'd all the wrold, then now a part.
Alas'tis easie to be victor there
Where the Foe first disarmerſe himſelfe with feare,
And many have beeene great Commanders thought
For meeting with no enemies that fought.
But there to purchase glory and to be
A Conqueror, where ſo much victorie
Had often gone before, and there to winne,
Where to ſcape fairely had a Conqueſt beeene,
Shewes all the Stories that are writ of old,
Are but ſmall trutheſ when thy exploits are told,
Of which this was a great one, that to show
Thou gav'ſt thy paſſions firſt an overthrow,
Thy fortune did not iwell thee, none could gueſſe
By thy vaine triumphs, at thy good ſuccesse,
No ſouldier did iuſt, ſo tame the Drumme
Thy ſelue ſo humble, as if overcome,
When moft victoriouſ. These were things diſmove
Thy enemieſ, and made them Conqueſt love
More then their peace before, who to be free
Did gladly choose to be o'recome by thee :
And if perchance they diſone charge abide
They diſrefiſt, as they were on thy ſide,
For thou by all with ſuch deſire werſ ſeenē,
As if no Foe, but hadſt their Captaine beeene,
And fought'ſt for them thou took'ſt, who diſindure
No other Change, but to be more ſecure.
Such werſ thou to thy Foe, but more thy care,
To be ſuch to thy Arme, as they were
To one another, who diſdiſt uſe to make
Each meane employmēnt glorious for thy ſake,
And would'ſt ennoble the obſcureſt place,
And make the loweſt office not ſeeine baſe.

By giving first example, while thy hand
Did more then thou to others didst command.
Each Captaine was thy equal, but in this,
That still thy danger was farre more then his;
While with an even presence thou would'st dare
To passe the Cannon, though thy death lay there,
With such a bold and fearelesse march we reade
The Angel did the holy Armies lead,
Who free from all attempts would stand betweene
Two furious Camps, as much unhurt, as scene,
And so didst thou (great soule) till heaven did see
That thy bare rules great Conquerors would be,
And tooke thee hence, who to requite thy fall
Left thy example to be Generall.

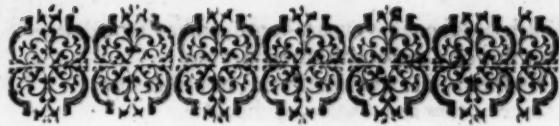
¶¶¶ 2 On



On the King of Sweden.

I Will not weepe thy losse; nor say ther's none
Can relieve bed-rid vertue, thou being gone.
I will not curse thy victory, c^r say,
Though we were Conquerors, we lost the day.
That thou wert all of us; that in thy fall,
(Thou being its soule) 'twas the worlds funerall:
They that thus mourne, and sadly mention Thee,
Pitty themselves; and make an Elegie
On their owne hopes: and troubled at thy doome,
With craftie sorrow write on Christendome:
I that have read devoutly all thy Raigne,
And fear'd a feaver, Age, or some such paine,
As Easie Princes die of, might surprise
Thy ripe designes: robbing thy Obsequies
Of wonder and amazement: blesse thy fall,
Worthy thy Great selfe; braver farre then All
Thy enuyed Actions: there being nought to doc,
Greater then what th'haft done, but to die so.
When thou hadst tam'd all powers, made every thing
So hopelesse weake, Embassadors might winne:
Thou wouldest no longer stay, to shew thy hand
Aim'd at a Nobler Triumph, then their land.
That King who shall thy worth, thy warre intend;
May get thy Empire, hardly such an end.

Upon



Upon the King of Sweden:

The Youth, hereafter, when old Wives shall chat
Gustavus high deeds; will aske what Giani's that?
For if by *vertue* we may measure man,
He did exceed sixe cubits and a spanne.
That size was low to him: for we now tell
A Story higher growne then *Chronicle*.
Where we find none that ever labour'd more
To take away, then he did to restore.
When *Austriae's Court*, *Astrea* out had hurld;
Then up stood He, *Chief Justice* of the world.
O're Free States *Cesar* did himselfe extoll;
And on their *rushes*, reer'd his *Capitoll*.
When he usurpt that *Peece* which had not on
His *Image* or his *Superscription*.
What though the *Eagle* be the *highest flowne*?
Yet was not th'ayre diffus'd for him alone:
But every *bird*, how small so ere it be,
Hath as good right to its owne nest, as he.
Rome for her best example, is paid all:
And *Cartbags* for her oft lent *Hannibal*.
Vertue the theme, the Schoole boy now needs none,
But *Him*, to make his *declamation*.
Who by so much *Romes Fabius* doth surpass'e,
As others he; yet no *Cunctator* was,
In his quicke expeditions: Hee'd not be:
Like to the crawling *Spaniard*: whom you see,
Hath for the poore *Low-Countryes* warr'd so long,
That they claime now by just *prescription*.

Which

Which land though wonne at length, must cost too deare :
Since that of *Canaan* cost but fortie yeare :

His speed will make time thinke, he had the hap,
At once to *view* and *conquer*, by the *Map*
Whose hand fought *Brachygraphic* : and did take
More in an houre, then ever tongue yet spake.
For no *Currauto* in a weeke could say,

So muchas He could doe, but in a day.

And when it seem'd to *lie*, or write *too much*
In *English* ; twas good *History* in *Dutsch*.

If it some townes, his *Conquest* had out-runne,
As *Prophecie* ; 'twas true ere all was done.

Yet dealt he not with such as us'd to *yeeld* ;
They never *gave* ; He alwayes *tooke* the field.
For when the game was his, and wonne the day ;
'Twas not their *dotage*, but his owne *good play*.

Armed when he retreated ; he would goe,
Like a *Sheld-Sea-Crab*, backwards ; and as flow.
His front was to' ards ; though from the foe his *pace* :
And lookt then like a *Ianus, both sides face*,
Like that stout * *Hebreves* choise ; rather then flying,
Desir'd his men should be three dayes adying.

Whose royll soule justly to dwell, deny'd,
In her owne body, yet unglorifi'd.

He was a *Dog*, no King, first chose to rub
His wretched life out, in a narrow *tub*.

,, Who thinkes the world too skant ; a holy heate
,, Inſtitly entitlē to the ſtyle of Great.

Befides, the body rightly thought upon,
Is to the soule, but her Pavilion :

Whose nerves about the bones doe tye the skinne,
As coards the canvasſie doe, unto the pinne.

And at the firſt, wife *Nature* never meant,
To make the ſouldiers *mansion*, of his tem.

Wherefore this *Prince* like *Moses*, after Hee
Had led the people from *captiuitie* ;

* David
2 Sam. 24. 13,
14.

And

And scourg'd the nations, like some humane *God*,
Till rivers bled, done wonders with his rod :
Dy'd on the *top of honour*. *Pisgah* is
For a brave height, a mount much short of this.
But lest we worship *Him* : we know not where,
This day to finde his hidden Sepulcher.

F I N I S.

S

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P

THE
S W E D I S H
INTELLIGENCER.

The Fourth Part.

RELATING
THE CHIEFEST
OF THOSE MILITARY,

Actions of the Swedish Generalls:

wherein the King himselfe was not
personally with the Armie.

As in the *Palatinate*, *Triers*, *Alsatia*, *Suervia*,
Westphalia, the *Lower Saxony*, and *Silesia*.

Wherein you have

Those Proceedings, omitted in the Second Part:
which are continued, untill the time of the
Kings death.



L O N D O N ,

Printed for N A T H : B U T T E R and N . B O V R N E ,
M D C XXXIII.

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THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The advancing of another Spanish Armie into the Palatinate, after the King of Swedens departure thence towards Bavaria. What they did and suffered there, from Easter Eve untill Whitsuntide 1632. with their retiring out of it; the Rhinegraves pursuit of them : and the State they left the countrey in.

Hat the Spaniards had twice before
since the King of Swedens com-
ming into these parts ; attempted
the reenforcing of their weakned
garrisons in the Lower Palatinat ;
and how they had , both times,
beene forced over the Mosel againe , by the King and Rhine-

grave : wee in our * Second part have before told you, * See pag. 58.
Hearing now the King to bee marcht up after Tillie ; and and 75. of that
their freind the Imperiall Generall Commissary Offe , to bee booke.
very desperate & busie in Alsatia , next unto the Palatinate:

Aa z they

The actions of the Spaniards

they in March following, resume their former enterprise; & provide themselves of two several armies, for that purpose, Foureteene thousand strong, (though some mention but 10000, & others 8000) was the first armie said to march up, and the Count of Embden was their Generall. Some beleieve that the Spanish Marquesse de Santa Croce, was also in the action with him. The second armie was to be brought up by Don Cordova: who was to receive the Count of Embden. Much encouragement had the Spanish, to hasten this their undertaking; for that they had intelligence sent them home from about Triers, that there was some contrast and jealousies betwixt diverse of those chiefer Commanders and Governours of townes in the Palatinate; whom the King had left there at his departure.

The Count of Embden with the first armie, upon our Easter eve, the last of March 1632, passed himselfe in good order, by the bridge of Triers citie, over the river of Mozel: which they might freely enough doe, for that they had pass'd the Mezel. the favour generally of the Elector of Triers subjects; and a garrison of their owne men in this citie. The Spaniards being now upon the Easterne side of the said river, they first of all (as both times heretofore they had done) go along the banck of it, unro Traerbach: two and twenty English miles, to the North-east from the bridge aforesaid. In the strong castle of this towne (like as in the most of all the good townes of this Electorate, those excepted which the Rhine-grave ere whiles had put them out of) had they their garrisons. Thence aduaice they unto Kirchberg in the Hambuck, twelve English miles to the East of Traerbach. In this towne, had the Rhine-grave at his late taking of it, left 200 men (who indeed were not above 60) for the defence of it. These (though but a weake garrison God knowes,) yet endured they some Canon shots before they would listen to a composition: which, there being no other remedy, they were glad upon souldiers termes to accept of; and the Spaniards as glad to yeeld them, their intent being

take in Kj. c.
berg.

ing to make hast into the further parts of the Palatinate.

Next advance they unto *Simmern*, 5 or 6 English miles and *Simmern*. to the North of *Kirchberg*: which towne they found not in so good a posture of defence as that they came last from; but readyer to take the law from the stronger. Some *Swedes* forces there were, enquartered here and there, in the better townes of this countrey of the *Hunsrück*. These rallying themselves now together; were resolved to make some head against the proceedings of the *Spaniards*. But not being of themselves strong enough to confront the grosse of the *Spanish* armie, and out of hope withall to bee seconded from about *Mentz*; and all through the bad correspondency betwixt their chiefe leaders: (Duke *Bernard* i meane, and the old *Rhine-grave*) contented themselves onely to lie upon the catch, and to intercept some looser troopes of their enemies; which for pillage sake, durst adventure the straggling a little further from the armie. At severall times, they but afterwards loose 5 Cor-
latcht up 4 or 5 of the *Spanish* Ensignes; which were at nts to the *Mentz* afterwards presented unto the Queene of *Sweden*. *Saredish*. This countrey of the *Hunsrück*, is very apt indeed for such like military reprisals; it being a very hilly and woody place: as if nature had meant it for the dressing of ambuscadoes; into which such strangers as are not well traded in the country, may easily enough fall.

The Count of *Emden* never staying to revenge this, marches North-ward towards *Over-wesel* first, and to *Boppard* afterwards; this last lying not far from *Coblenz*, where the *Rhine* entertaines the *Mosel*. These two townes, and by their taking, all that corner of the *Hunsrück*, and Bishopricke of *Triers*, betwixt the *Rhine* and *Mosel*, being thus againe made *Spanish*; (even as farre as *Coblenz*, where of old they had a garrison;) the Count of *Emden* converts his armes up againe by the *Rhines* side towards the Southward; making all the speed hee could to the bancks of the river *Nah*, whose streame runnes traverse to his marching. Where this river droppeth into the *Rhine*, stands the town *Palatinate*.

4 *The actions of the Spaniards*

of *Bingen*; and 10 English miles to the Northward up the said stremme, is the towne of *Creutznach*. To both them, the *Spaniards* now send some Partees; who bringing them word againe, that the townes were defended with good *Scotish* and *Germane* garrisons; they forbearre to attempt either of them: quietly passing the river *Nah*, betwixt both into the *Palatinate*.

In none of these their proceedings hitherto, (except where wee before told you) had they met with any considerable power of opposition. The *Swedish* armie was not yet advanced into the field; the *Rhinegrave* onely with his Horse-regiment had hitherto beeene by *Oxenstiern* sent out from *Menz* towards them: & that rather to observe them, then oppose them. *Hee* perceiving them after their passing of the *Nah*, to advance to the Eastwards towards *Menz*; retires still before them, till he came to *Nider-Vlm*; within 6 or 7 English miles of *Menz*, to the South-west-ward. Here sets *hee* downe his Regiment: because that this was the neerest Passe, by which the *Spanijs* must come at *Menz* citie. At this dorp, ends that ledge of little mountaines: which by a small rivers side (for 8 or 10 miles together) comes trending along from the very *Rhine* bancks.

The *Spanijs* having borne up close hitherto, with the *Rhinegrave*, and being now approaht within halfe a league of him: they at that distane, about the tenth of our April, there fete downe and rested. Hereabouts (at *Menz*) they learned by some countrey Boores, that the chiefeſt of the *Swedish* forces were now amassing; and that here, if any where, they were likely to meet with opposition. And they judged rightly: For now at *Menz*, was the *Rex-Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern*: who together with that gallant yong sparke Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weimar*; had an armie in readinesse of 15000 foot, and 72 Horse Comets. The *Spanijs* had notice, besides, given them, of the new and great fortifications about the citie; and that Duke *Bernard* had already drawne out the most of these troopes, into the

The Rhinegrave
now ſent out
to obſerve
them,

sits downe to
ſloſſe them at
Nider Vlm.

who, whileſt
Duke *Bernard*
prepares to
draw out the
Armie,

the new works : which the King before his going had given order to bee made ; aswell for the lodging of a campe roiall there, as for the safe-guard of the 2 new bridges over the Rhine and Maine ; all which you may see described page 57. of our Second part. Thus much had Duke *Bernard* done, by the seventh of April ; at which time, the *Spaniſh* were come up within a day and halffes March of *Creuznach*. The towne lying at this guard ; and the *Rhinegrave's* horse (at the Poast we last told you of) enquaſtered betwixt the *Spaniards* and the citie : they, (having intelligence of his poſture) firſt reſolve to ſet upon him there ; before those other forces ſhould be drawne out of the citie, to affiſt him. Friday morning before day light, Aprill 13. was the time they appointed to make a *Cavalcado* upon his Quarters ; and *Lucas Cagro*, Comiſſary Generall of the Cavallery, was the man ; that with 1400 horſe in 12 Cornets, undertooke the action. It ſo chanced, that the *Rhine-graue*, the very night before, had received both notice and affiſtance ; and was both wayes now provided, to entertaine them. The Chancellor *Oxenſtien* had newly ſent him 400. *Finland* horſe, under the well-tried Colonell *Stolbanſee*, who had alſo taken up his lodging upon the ſide of the ſame hill, on which the *Rhine-graves* men lay enquaſtered. Towards them (though not cloſe up to them) the *Rhine-graue* that night hatched ; giving notice unto *Stolbanſee* withall, of the *Spaniſh* purpoſes, *Don Lucas* knowing nothing, that his enemies knew fo much ; thinkes in the darke morning to get the advantage of the hill-knap, and then to fall downe upon them with the more weight afterwards : hee ſtill ſuppofing his enemye to be in his old Quarters. The hill top that *Don Lucas* thought to have gotten, was the ſame knap which the *Rhinegrave* had before poſſeſſed himſelfe of ; on the ſide of which, *Stolbanſee* was alſo lodged. The *Spaniſh* thus in the darke morning, with as much ſilence as they could, mounting up the climb of the hill ; ſtumbled firſt upon *Stolbanſee* and his *Finlanders*, all ready in array to entertaine them

The actions of the Spaniards

defeates 1400
horse of the
Spaniards, that
first set upon
him.

them. These charging one another, downe comes the Rhinegrave at the noise of the first volleyes, upon the polles of them. The Spaniards having once discharged their pistolls and Carbines; and not being able to discerne, what forces they had now to deale withall: never staid to charge the second time; but turned their backes with all speed, and in much disorder hastened downe the hill againe. The Fins charge them upon the croopes; and the Rhinegrave followed them downe the hill likewise. There were 10 fresh Spanish Cornets, now comming into the succour of their fellowes: who meeting them altogether now in rout, turne the bridle in like manner, and runne away with them for company, towards the leaguer. The Swedes still pursued, till the Spanish had recovered under favour of their owne Canon. In this flight, the Spanish left 5 (8 some say) Horsemens Cornets behind them, with about 120 common souldiers. *Don Lucas* his Lieutenant-Colonel (whom they called General-adjutant,) was here taken prisoner: together with 2 Ritt-masters or Horse-captaines, some few Officers, and divers common souldiers; all which were sent to MENTZ, to be kept in durance for their ransome.

And now because wee have chanced upon these two names, of *Commissary-General of the Cavallerie*; and *General-Adjutant*: it shall not be amisse (I hope) for the understanding of our storie the better; to digresse a little, for the expounding of these two offices. I take it, that this *Commissary-General of the Cavallerie*: is not altogether unlike a *Sergeant Major* of the horse, in the *Swedish discipline*: beyond whom, he hath the power of a *Commissarie*, for the provision of the troopes, over which he is *Major*. Hee is called *Commissary-General*; because his command is not in a single Regiment alone; but either over all the horse of the Armie; or some *Brigade* at least in it. Which *Brigade* in the *Spanish discipline* is not so small a *Bodie* of men, as the *Swedish Brigades* bee: but it is a full *Tercio* (so the *Spanish* call a *Brigade*) that is, a whole third part of the Armie, how many

See how ma-
ny marching
men make up
a compleat
Brigade: in
our Booke of
the *Swedish*
discipline.

many soever the Armie be. The *General-Adjutant*, that was Leiftenant to this *Commissary*: was the Leiftenant-Colonel to his Regiment. The *General-Adjutants* office, is to bee affi-stant to the *Generall*: That is , to be sent abroad for the gi-ving or speeding of the Generalls commands, to the rest of the armie. He is commonly some able man, or some fav ou-rite at least unto the Generall. His place in the Armie, is that of a *Leiftenant Colonel*; of whom hee hath precedence, but is behinde all Colonels. A *General-Adjutant* is the same of-ficer , which in our *English discipline*, wee call a *Corporall of the field*. The French call him *Un aide de Camp*: an *Aide* or *Assistant of the field*.

To returne to our Storie. The *Spaniards* being thus put to the rout : and having in the time passed since the last fight had about 100 of their men slaine , and as many more taken prisoners ; that had beeene sent out upon espials, and for pro-visions : the rest collectting by the sequell , that the *Swedish* armies were alreadie drawne out into the field : they all that day, and the next after it , contained themselves within their quarters. There (if by their next actions wee may suppose) did they thus resolve among themselves, That seeing *Menz* was too strong to be medled withall , and that the *Swedish* forces (now come together) were likely to bee upon them at every turne , and to way-lay them withall , upon their march , betwixt *Menz* and the *Palatinat* ; that therefore the best of their play would be , by a sudden advancing to get before them; and by making towards *Frankendale*, to re-enforce themselves by joyning with *Don Philip*. Their next purpose was to take in *Spires* citie , and the townes next unto it : where , being backed with the neighbourhood of *William Marquesse of Baden* , *Offa* and *Harincont*, (all then in the neerer parts of *Alsatia*) they resolved to expect the comming of the *Swedish*: and there to accept or offer battel, according to occasion , or advantage.

This , (as if it had beeene the maine of their intention) they next day put in execution. April 14 therefore, brea-
B b king

The Actions of the Spaniards

They dislodg.

king up from thence, they march to *Alzheim* 12 English miles to the Southward of them. Here they quarter for that night: holding very faire correspondence towards the townmen;

From *Alzheim* goe they the 15 unto *Bockenheim*; a dorp with a castle at it, nere unto *Newlingen*, 16 English miles further to the Southward: where, upon the downes or wylde and hillie heath, they for that night encamped. Hence might their fires bee discerned, from off *Wormbs* steeple. Facing it about now to the Left, they the 16 arrive at *Grunstat*; a towne but one league and a halfe from *Bockenheim*, to *Wormbs*-wards; and within 7 or 8 English miles of it. Hither, the same day, out of *Frankendale*, (9 English miles to the South of *Wormbs*, and upon the same river of *Rhine* with it) comes *Don Philip de Sylva*, with 2000 horse and foot (3000. some name) and 10 pieces of ordnance, to joyn with them. The *Spanijs* thus re-enforced, and so neere now unto the Imperial citie of *Wormbs*: verily beleeved it was, that they had a moneths minde towards it.

But from these thoughts, was *Don Philip* able to dissuade them: who having beeene so neere a neighbour unto *Wormbs* these many years; could well enough now enforme them, how strong a garrison of *Swedijs* foot, with 8 Cornets of horse, (besides the Trajne-bands of the Burgers) there now was within the citie. For this reason (perchance) did the *Spaniards* forbear to attempt upon it. The next day, April 17, againe facing it about to the Right: towards *Spier's* citie they make, which then bare due South of them. That night unto *Turckenheim* they come: 2 leagues and a halfe from *Grunstat*. By this time, had they well enough stored themselves with other mens cattell, and such like countrey provisions: Souldiers commonly (especially if enemies) having this good qualitie with them, not to leave, but to take, things where they finde them. April 18, they get up as farre as *Neustat* upon the *Hart*, by the small river of *Spierbach*: a very good towne, 9 English miles due south of *Turckheim*.

The wood is
called *Hart*, in
which it stan-
deth,

and make to-
wards *Spier's*
citie.

Don Philip de
Sylva joynes
with them.

All these places, tis true, lie not in a straight line from Alzey unto Spiers: and yet not much out of the way, neither: but being good townes, the Spanish thought not too much of the labour, to steppe aside a little, for to take them. April 19, turning a little more to the Eastward: they reach 4 leagues further: and within 5 English nailes of Spiers citie. The next day being the 20 they first shew themselves before the ports of it: and the grosse of their Armie being in the afternoone come up; they immediately shew them their Canon, and demand up the citie. A faire, but not very strong Imperiall town this is; yea the Chamber of the Empire. The place of it, is upon the Westerne bancke of the river Rhine; some 11 or 12 English miles on this southerne side of Manheim, in the Palatinat. It had heretofore accorded with the King of Sweden, and accepted of his garrison: as Page 59 of our Second Part, we have told you. It was now kept with some 200 men, by Colonel Horneck: who had heretofore done the King very good service. And now also, as if he had not yet forgone all his former courage and reputation; he answeres the first summons, as if he had meant to have beaten the Spaniards out of Christendome: for he thunders and fallies upon them, bravely. But the Spaniſſ bringing forward their Approaches or Rowling trenches, soberly; and with many hands, having by the next morning almost perfected their lines, and gotten up 1, or 2, Batteries: Horneck, fearing another Blacke May day of it, should his towne bee stormed: hee upon the very next summons, the second day of planting of the siege; hangs out his white flag, to treat upon the rendring.

The chiefe of the Articles which he desired for his garrison, were these fourre.

The Spanish
take Spiers.

1. To goe out with full Armes, swords by their sides, Colours flying, drummes beating, bullet in the mouth, and matches lighted.

The conditiⁿons.

2. To have all his baggage, for himselfe and company.

The Actions of the Spaniards

3. To have four field pieces.
4. To bee convoyed by the *Spaniards* as farre as *Wormbs*,
20 miles *English*, downe the *Rhine*, to the Northward.

For the townesmen, (*Lutheranes* for the most part) hee to this purpose articed. That they should not be molested in their persons, goods, priviledges, nor consciences. For the *Cloyster-people*, and the *Lawyers* (which were many) and such other Officers and dependants upon the *Imperiall Chamber*; hee needed not make any conditions for their safeties: for they being all *Catholicks*, were of themselves so able to make a partie in the Citie, in favour of the *Spanijs*; that they had beene one of *Hornecks* chiefe feares, and the occasion of his so sudden giving up the citie.

And thus was the faire and Imperiall citie of *Spiers* rendered up unto the *Spanijs*; about 10 a clock in the forenoone April 21. This being *May-day*, according to the *Spanish* computation.

Some say, that Colonel *Horneck* had (with that garrison) undertaken the keeping of the citie; and had refuled other succours: which if hee did, he was then the more to blame for it; for that, had he held it out, hee had within a day or two beene relieved. Duke *Bernard Weymar*, with the *Palatine Birckenfeldt*, having once learned which way the *Spaniards* after the last fight April 13, had directed their march, he upon the 16, advanced with 8000 foot and 3000 horse, out of *Menz*, to have followed after them: and to have adventured to releive whatever place, they should have attacked. He was already come as farre as *Wormbs*, to this purpose: which was within little more then a dayes march, of the *Spanijs* leaguer. Some say, that *Horneck* had notice of all this: and so much was at his sending for to *Menz*, laid unto his charge by the Chancellor *Oxenstiern*; who immedately sent up word to the King, of his manner of yeelding up the citie. *Horneck*, indeed denied, any notice hee had of Duke *Bernards* comming: notwithstanding which, he was still kept under arrest, till his sentence came

Duke *Bernard*
going to re-
lieve *Spiers*,
comes too
late,

came out of *Bavaria* from the King, that hee should sole both *Horne* and *mecke* too, for it. But execution was deferred, and his excuses, of the impossibility for him with 200 men, to make good such a compasse of walls; when, especially, so potent a faction domineered in the towne, were accepted: which were, indeed, presented to the King, in his behalfe, by the Queenes Majestie, Duke *Bernard*, and some others.

Duke *Bernard* hearing *Spiers* to bee thus taken by the

and

Count of *Embden*; and that *Don Gonzales de Cordova* was

returnes home
againe, upon
hearing of *Don*
Cordovas com-
ming.

already upon his march in the further parts of *Luxemburg*, to passe the *Mosel* also into the *Palatinat*e, for the seconding of the Count of *Embden*: hee sends part of the Armie towards *Manheim*, first, and returnes the other towards

Mentz againe: whence the *Rhinegrave* was with some of them, sent towards the *Mosel*, for the stopping of *Don* *Manheim*,

Cordova. *Wormbs* was at that time also taken new order for;

Wormbs,

& that gallant Cavalier *Christopher Haubald* (who had lately taken *Hanaw*, as P. 22. of our Sec. Part we told you) now became their Governor. *Hanaw* citie (you may please to understand) had beeene restored to its Earle, the Lord of it; and *Haubald* with the Kings garrison, drawne out of it. He being now Governor of *Wormbs*, had 24 foot-companies, and one troope of horse, left in it for his garrison: the other 7 Cornets of horse which were in it, when the *Spaniards*, tother day, marcht by it; being now drawne out, to augment the Armie, *Haubald*, first of all, flights and dismantles part of the Suburbs: the better to fortifie the citie: at which worke, causing 1500 Labourers to be daily employed; hee hoped within 14 or 16 dayes to make it so fensible; as not to feare the first sight or terror of an enemie. *Mentz* and *Mentz*, had all this while beeene new strengthned, by the labours of 3000 Boories and soldiery; and some new workes made to it: especially by the *Gustavi-Stadt*, or New towne, which the King of Sweeden had caused to be added to it.

In this towne, and a little before this; had the *Bailiff* of

Mentz

The Actions of the Spaniards

Menz beeene laid hold of and imprisoned by the Chancellor. His fault was , for having continued a secret correspondence with his old master the Archbishop : and for having made a late and secret voyage to him unto *Cullen*. The Chancellor, it seeemes, since the *Spaniards* marching by, had beeene abroad to look to other places. At his comming home, about this April 20 the *French* Ambassador still resident in *Menz*, made a great complaint of the Colonel the Governor, whom the Chancellor had left within the citie. The cause was , for that hee upon the hearing of the *Ecclesiasticks* faction in *Spires*, in favour of the *Spanijs*: had commanded those at *Menz*, to depart the citie ; and had arrested some of them, for not obeying. The wise *Oxenstiern* willing to gratifie the Ambassador, released the arrest quietly, and restored the *Ecclesiasticks* to their Cloysters.

Towards the end of April , came the *Quene of Sweden* into *Menz* : whom the Chancellor with some gallanter troopes of horse , went to meet withall. Diverse Princes and Gentlemen (both of the Countrey and Armie) went also to receive her Majeltie as farre as *Cotum*; about a mile or 2. from *Menz*, and on the other side of the *Maine* towards *Frankford*. Here were 80 Companies of foot also put into Battaglia : through whom, the Queene with a traine of 20. coaches passing over the new made bridge : wooke up her lodging in the Electorall Palace , where shee remained till August after , that shee went towards *Wurtzburg*.

The Queenes person thus brought into a place of safetie, and these 3 good townes , with others , taken order for ; part of the Armie is sent with the yong *Rhinegrave* towards the *Mosel* : fresh newes being againe brought to *Menz*, that *Don Cordova* was come almost as neere as *Triers*, with 22 troopes of horse, and 6000 foot forces. This was about the beginning of our May , the 8. of which moneth, Duke *Bernard Weymar* having at *Menz* discharged himselfe of the Armie ; goes through *Worms* immediately up into *Bavaria*, to the King of *Sweden*: the cause of whole discontent,

The Quene of
Sweden comes
to Menz.

The Swedish
sent towards
the Mosel , to
oppose *Don
Cordova*.

discontent, wee shall anon tell you; when namely, wee enter into *Gustavus Hornes Storie*.

Wee left the Count of *Embden* within *Spres*, whose Armie since their taking of that towne, had attempted nothing upon the rest of the countrey: excepting onely that hee enquartered some troopes in *Aenwiler*, *Cron-mifenburg* and *Landaw*. The occasion for this was (I suppose) in the Marquesse of *Baden*; as wee shall tell you by and by. From the townesmen of *Spres*, (notwithstanding any former conditions made with *Horneck*) did the Count demand 100000 Dollars, which upon their complaint of povertie, were moderated to 80000. His souldiers made bold with their Hosts, now and then, if they saw any thing that liked them. Diverse of the richer sort, were now likewise accused for former practises with the *Swedes*: but the quarrell was not to the men, but to their purses.

The Count of
Embdens do-
ings in *Spres*.

The Marquesse *William of Baden* (hee that is commonly called so) having beeene by his Imperiall Majestie appointed his Generall heretofore, in this *Circle of the Rhine*: sent word now, unto the Count of *Embden*, that he had order from his Imperiall Majestie, to take the citie of *Spres*, (which was the Chamber of the Empire) into his owne charge, and Imperiall protection. The Count returned him this answere; That hee for his part, had commission from the King of *Spaine* to take in so much of the countrey, as had heretofore beeene *Spaniſh*: so that every man being obliged to perform his best service for his owne Master, & to expect his commands onely: hee could not see that hee ought to yeeld up his possession in the place, untill hee saw some order for it from the Court of *Brussells*. This returne was the Marquesse constrained to accept of for an answere.

The Mar-
quesse of *Baden*
demands to
have *Spres*
surrendred
unto him.

But the Count of *Embden* very suddenly after this, was fayne of himselfe, to forsake the towne, without receiving any other commission from *Brussells*, then that hee could not from thence bee relieved. The *Swedish* troopes alreadie advanced towards the *Mosel*, intercepted a Courryer His necessities.
and

The actions of the Spaniards

and a Packet of his to *Don Cordova*, and her Highnesse the Archduchesse : That unlesse hee might bee seconded from thence, within 14 dayes ; he should no wayes be able to keep his possession in the countrey : but be constrained to venture his Armie into the mercy of the *Swedes*, at his countermarching. And so it fell out indeed : For the *Rhinegrave* having with his Armie by this time taken possession of the *Hunsruck* ; *Don Cordova* that was now advanced as high as *Triers*, judged it a better peece of Soldiery to retire againe with his Armie, then to aduenture it upon such difficulties. Some of his horse, and 2. Commissaries (as I finde) amongst them, being sent over *Triers* bridge into the *Hunsruck*, to discouer the posture of the *Rhinegrave*, and to make provisions for the following Armie : were light upon by *Don Cordova*, and sent prisoners into *Mente*. Those that escaped, carryed this word backe unto *Don Cordova*, that the *Swedish* were too strong for him in the *Hunsruck*, und that they had possit themselves of all the advantageous Poalts, in the woods and mountaines. This newes caused *Cordova* to retyre, and to leave the Count of *Emden* but in a bad taking.

Don Cordova
cannot get o-
ver the *Mosel*.

The Count of *Emden* forced the Count of *Emden*, to forsake *Spiers* ; Some other necessities, pincht at the same time upon the Count of *Emden*. The Chancellor *Oxenstiern* had an Armie in his way to hinder his retrait : and so made it dangerous for him to goe : and the Marshalls *de la Force* and *d'Effiat*, were alreadie parted out of *Lorrain*, and into the edge of the *Palatinate*, with a French Armie : and this made it as dangerous to stay also ; So that goe or stay, there was danger in it. And true it is, that the French Army was by the 21 of May, comme as farre as *Zweibrucken*, (the town and the Reas- of the *Palatine* the Duke of *Deux Ponts*) upon the

Westerne frontiers of the *Palatinate* ; about 40 miles distant from *Spiers* citie. The comming of these French forces, was in favour of the Elector of *Triers* : whom his Majesty of *France* had (against the *Spaniard*) taken into his protection. Two prime forts had this Elector of *Triers* : both which

which hee had yeelded to configne over into the French Kings hands : and these , this Armie now came (though the Elector , perchance , could have better beeene contented not to have beeene put to it , to make this confignation) to take possession of . One of these Fortresses , was the towne and castle of *Vdenheim* ; and this was close by *Spiers* , within 5 English miles of it : too neere to be ill neighbours . The other strength they went to take scisin of , was the castle of *Hermanstein* ; where the *Mosel* falls into the *Rhine* : and this corner if the French gat into , they would prove very troublesome to the Spanish in their passage backe againe , through the *Hunsrück*. And so , indeed , it after hapned . To these two , is a third necessity to be added The Prince of *Orange* was now preparing for the field ; so that there was likely to bee more use for the Spanish at home in the *Low Countries* , then here above in the *Palatinat*e .

And these are some of the reasons , that constrained the Count of *Embden* , so suddenly to forsake these quarters . This is sure . That about the same day moneth , that he took *Spiers* citie upon , he againe forsooke it , Saturday April 27. he entred it , & upon Whitsun Munday May 21 he again leaves it . *Don Philip de Sylva* , who had so long beeene Generall in these * parts upon the *Rhine* ; now prepares likewise to returne home with the Armie . This Generall , tooke order before his parting , for the re-enforcing of the garrison of *Franckendale* , with 3. fresh troopes of horse , & 1200. footmen . The Magazine he also caused to be new stored , and the sickle and unserviceable people , to be brought out of it . For the defence of *Spiers* , did the Count of *Embden* appoint 1000. horse and foot ; and so left the neighbour country , to the direction of the Marquesse of *Baden* , as hee had desired . The Generall *Offa* perceiving the Spanish about to goe ; hee forsakes *Alsasie* , just about this time , going with all speed to the siege of *Bibrach* : of which see Page 170. of our Second Part .

The 3. Spanish Generalls parting from *Spiers* May 21. and
Cc having

The French
come with an
army through
the Palatinat.

* Hee was Ge-
nerall of all
the Spanish , in
the Palatinat ,
and the 3 Ele-
ctorates of
Menz and
Trier .

The actions of the Spaniards

Having drawne out all their troops of the neighbour quarters : and taking but 5 fielding peeces along with them : they give it out, before their going out of *Spiers*, that their purpose now was to march upwards into *Alsatia*, by the *Rhines* side , and there to joyne with the Generall *Offa*. This was a devise to amuse the *Swedish* withall : whome the *Spaniards* (the chiefe of their desire now being to make a quiet retraite) were not willing to have any thing to doe withall. Having advanced to the Southward as farre as *Germerheim*, (or thereabouts) that is, some 8 or 10 *English* miles from *Spiers* : they that very night , turne faces about to the right , towards the *Mosel*. And indeed the old Pro-

suddenly turn verbe is here true enough , That the furthest way about, is the aside towards neareſt way home : seeing that by this meanes they escaped that rugged and woody paſſage through ſome of the crags of the old mountaine *Vogafus* ; which all the way to the Westward , they left above them upon the right hand. The firſt good towne of the *Palatinat* which they toucht at , was *Keyfers-Lauter* ; about 30 *English* miles from *Spiers* , upon the river *Lauter*. Here ſtaid they but one night , May 23: their deſire being to make ſuch hasty marches ; that they might be paſt by , before the Chancellor *Oxenſtiers* armie at *Mentz* , ſhould hearc of it : or at leaſt before the *Rhine*-

narrowsly ſcaping by the French Armie. *graves* Armie about the *Hunsrück* , ſhould bee conjoined with him. One night before that the *Spaniſh* lodged at *Keyfers-Lauter* , did the Van of the *French* army arrive at *Zniibrucken* : which was within 18 *English* miles of *Keyfers-Lauter*. Thus the *Spaniſh* being in good time paſſed by , the *French* (as ſoone as they heard of their going by) im-ſtantly ſend away the troops appointed to take poſſeſſion of *Hermanſtein* : into which the Elector of *Triers* entertained them , upon Saturday May 26 following.

The *Spaniſh* , with long and hasty marches , ſtill advance towards the *Mosel* : and the Chancellor *Oxenſtiers* having notice brought him of it unto *Mentz* , the ſame night of their departure ; he with all ſpeed , the next day , preparing all

The Chancellor
for Oxenstiern,
makes out af-
ter the Spanish,

all things necessary for the expedition : parts , upon the 23, with the *Palatine Christian* of *Birkenfeldt*, from *Menz* unto *Altzim*; Fifteene thousand foot (halfe so many per chance) and 80 troopes of horse , was hee said to lead along with him ; and having sent word of it to the *Rhinegrave* ; and given him order to come towards him : hee for that night encamps before *Altzim*. This having been the way that the *Spaniſh* had before taken , in their advancing towards *Spiers* ; the Chancellor supposed they would make their retreate that way againe ; and had therefore thought to take up that passe before them. But their march lay not that way , now ; but some 2 or 3 leagues more to the Westward. The next morning May 24, was there word brought unto the Chancellor, that the *Spaniſh* had quartered the same night at *Gelheim* ; a market towne ſome 7 or 8 *Engliſh* miles from him.

The Chancellor not willing to lose this opportunitie ; prepares to goe to meet with them ; and to give them as good a farewell out of the countrey , as they had received an entertainment into it. The yonger *Rhinegrave* was diſpatched , before hand , with ſome troopes of horse of his owne and *Hornecks* Regiment , to attack the *Spaniſh* ; whi- leſt the groſſe of the *Swediſh* foot , with the Canon , might get up to them. The *Rhinegrave* firſt found the *Spaniſh* Ar- mie in an indifferent faire and large valley , neere unto *Stein- bach* cloyſter : where encountering thoſe 4 Cornets of horſe , that then had the Van of the Armie ; he routed them firſt of all , and (as ſome ſay) tooke away 3 of their Cornets.

The Spanish having field-room enough to put themſelves into Battaglia , did it preſently : and rightly ſuppoſing withall , that it was not ſome few troopes , or any one ſingle Regiment alone , that durſt thus confronter their whole army : and that too , in a place of no advantage ; and where they might well diſcover their whole strength : they certainly concluded thereupon , that the whole *Swediſh* forces were at hand , and they (doubtleſſe) withall reſolved to bid them

whome the
Rhinegrave firſt
lights upon.

The Spanish
entertaining
the skirmish,

battell. Putting out therefore some primer horse-troopes (and those well lyned with muskettiers) to entertaine the Rhinegrave : they first of all wheele about their whole Armie a little to the left ; the better to gaine the advantage of the wood , in case of necessitie to retreate unto. And as if they had now also considered ; That their former way towards the river *Nah* betwixt *Creuznach* and *Bingen* , was so stopt up by the Swedishe, that they must either fight for their way , or decline it : they then resolved upon the latter. Sending away their baggage-wagons and heavyer lumber, on before towards the towne of *Lauzreck* : they maintained the skirmish with the Rhinegrave , till their baggage were well advanced into the woods , which was a place of safetie.

send away
their baggage
before , and al
ter their course
of marching.

Yea they did not maintaine the skirmish alone, but they had the better of it. Two of the Rhinegraves owne troopes, having too fiercely and too forwardly given on upon them ; they make to get them further off : the Swedishe feeling , by and by , that horsemen and muskettiers , were too hard for pistolls and Carabiners , onely. These two troopes being soundly pelted by the Spanish ; take the rout presently upon it ; and turne the bridle towards their owne people. Fourre troopes of Hornecks Regiment , being sent by the Rhinegrave , for the succouring of these runne-awayes : received into themselves so great an impression of cowardise , from the others feares ; that they also turne the bridle with them , and gallop with all speed towards *Altzheim*. Nor could the Rhinegrave by any meanes get them to make head againe : one Comet and one Sergeant (2 of each, say some relations) he presently caused to bee hanged : and yet would not the others ever stay to profit by the example.

They route 6.
troopes of the
Rhinegraves,

and recover the
advantage of
the woods.

The Spanish contenting themselves to have thus beaten them away , and to have recovered the honours of their former Cornets : continue on their march never looking to pursue after them. And this , indeed , was their wisest course : more conducing both to their safeties , and their purposes:

poses: their intention was not to fight, but to retreat; and hitherto they had made good thus much of it. By this time was the Chancellor neere at hand, with the ordnance and grosse of the Armie: upon whose coming, the Spaniſh disdained not to ſave themſelves (though in good order) among the trees and thickets of the forreſt. Some troopes they left upon the edge of the wood, to entertaine the time with the Swediſh; till their baggage ſhould have gotten on further out of danger. I doe not finde that there was much more that day done, againſt thoſe in the woods-side. It was almoft night, by this time; for the Swediſh Foot had met with ſo many hills and buſhes in their march, that they could no ſooner get up to make a day of it.

The Spaniards, ſo long as day light lasted, made very good uſe of the wood to defend themſelves in, againſt the Swediſh. Every tree, ſerved their muskettiers, both for a Refte, and for a Buckler: every buſh, was as good as a Turnpike or a Galtrop, to keepe off any charge of horses, and to hinder their comming on in order. Among the booughes of the trees, were not the enemies Pikes manageable: nothing but Canon, could doe them any miſchiefe; and out of their reach, they could quickly get them. In this poſture did the Spaniards maintaine it, till the approaching darkneſſe: the favour of which advantage, being the thing they moſt loſted for; they now marche away with all their diligencē. The Swediſh, not daring to purſue them, for feare of ambuſhes: were fainte for that night to encamp, without the edge of the wood aforesaid. All that night, the Spaniards marched: and by breake of day the next fridai morning, May 25, did the Swediſh horſe againe purſue after them. But the woods and hillie wayes, proved ſo cumberſome; and the Spaniards had ſo farre gotten the ſtart of them; that though the Swediſh Cavallerie did, now and then, overtake ſome of them, and made ſome ſpoile upon their Recre, (among ſuch especially, as were by any miſchance caſt behind their fellowes) yet ſill did the others get ſo much ground

Continuing
their retreat:

They are pur-
ſued by the
Rhinegrave.

The actions of the Spaniards

ground of the *Swedish* Infanterie, as that they could never get up, to give them a generall onset.

Those *Spanish* horse that were left behinde, either to manne the Reere, or to guard the baggage; would turne againe, now and then perchance, and give the *Swedish* their pistolls, and so kill or spoile them a man or two, that way; but yet they never stood to it: their purpose being, to make good their retreat; & if they did skirmish, now and then, yet still was it but retyning. The *Swedish* being all horse, had this advantage upon the *Spanish* Foot: that they could ride out and in, and charge them upon which flank they pleased; the *Rhinegrave* upon one hand, and the *Fins* under *Stol-hansbe* upon the other: and both at pleasure. And yet that which afflicted the *Spanish* worse then all this, was, that their enemies still soliciting them with renewed Alarms; they could never be suffered either to pitch, or sleepe; nor to take any manner of rest, night, or day, for 40 hours together. Being thus enforced to march forwards, still, & forwards; if any encumbrance withall, chanced to fall among their wagons, or any carriage of their ordnance to be broken: either must those necessary implements bee forsaken, or the mens lives most desperately be exposed, that durst stay behinde either to mend or defend them. The whole Army would never make *Halt* or stay, for any private occasion: and in this posture did the *Spaniards* retreat, & the *Swedish* horse pursue (the grosse of foot following on as fast, as might bee) till they came to *Lautereck* a foresaid; full 16 miles of ground from *Gelheim*, (neere which the fight beganne) and as heavy to march, as some other thirtie.

They burne
their carriages
at Lautereck: *Swedes* were likely to pursue them ever; and perceiving by this time much broken and shattered in the woods and rugged mountaines: they there resolve to ridde themselves of that lumber. Here set they fire unto a many of their wagons; the carriages of their ordnance, they burned; and

& the peeces they drowned in the river *Lauer*. Their sicke & wounded men, they put upon the horses that had drawn them ; and so hasted to the Northward, towards the *Mosel*. Being thus lightned ; now double they their march : and from thence to the river *Nab*, (which gave them entrance into the Duchie of *Simmern* , and the *Hunsrück* :) they had something a more champion countrie to doe it in. Here the *Swedish* gave it over; staying about *Lantereck*, awhile, to refresh themselves : from whence, the Armie turned aside, partly towards *Crenzach*, 15 English miles to the right had and North of *Lantereck* ; and partly back againe to *Altzeim*.
 and there the
Swedish give it
 over.
 The way betwixt the first encounter and parting of the Armies, lay strewed with dead, maimed, sick, and wearyed bodies, ever and anon ; *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Wallons* and *Burgundians* : of which (if you will take the *Swedish* and the Boores reckning) there were full 2000. The drowned ordnance were found, and weighed up againe. Some 400 (others name 800) wagons, either burnt or left behinde : 40 of which the *Spaniards* hoping to have carryed away, and therefore not burned ; fell whole and wholly, into the hands of the *Swedish*. In these, were much bedding, brasse, pewter and iron : with such like leaguer-housholdstuffe. Divers prisoners were taken ; and among them, about 60 Officers : all which were carryed into *Mentz*. Of the *Spanish* Armie that thus marcht away, were there said to bee 8000 foot, and 3000 horse, or neere upon it (not so many I believe) all which, by the beginning of June, were gotten as farre as the *Mosel*, and some part of them already passed it. Much encumbrance did they after encounter withall, in the Elector of *Triers* countrey. The *French* forces, and his owne, hee now made to way-lay them ; employed 3000 Boores, to cut downe the trees for the hindering of their passage : and all victualls was conveyed away out of their reach. Thus the *Spaniards* made good their retreat : and though they did it with much hazzard, and many losses ; yet, al-together, was it a very good peece of service of them.
 and encum-
 brances in the
 Bishop of *Tri-
 ers* country.

And

The actions of the Spaniards

And (I believe) the Swedish were as glad, as the Countrey, that they were so cheape ridde of them.

Don Gonzales de Cordova and *Momerry Governor of Maestricht*, having not beeene able to get over the *Mosel*, to the reliefe of the Count of *Embden*; now, for feare that the *Swedish* should have passed over after him : stayed for the said Count in the countrey of *Luzenburg*: and afterward peeced in with him about *Naameu* and the river *Maze*. The Count of *Merode*, with those forces which he had thereabouts newly levyed for the Emperor; was then about the *Mosel* towards *Cullen*; but he went not along with *Embden* nor *Don Cordova*: hee being then in entertainement with the Elector of *Cullen*.

And thus ended that expedition of so much expectation, of the *Spanijs* Armies into the *Palatinat*. But this is the fortune of the warres, that the masters of the field must now and then take their turnes, and bee beaten out of it.

The *Swedish* part of the Armie, which returned from the fight, to *Altzheim*; went presently with the Chancellor back againte to *Menz*: and the other part, that moved towards *Creutznach*; went forward with the *Rbinegrave*, after a while, into the *Hunsruek*. There hee surprised (though with some little adoe, at first,) the townes of *Kirchberg*, *Simmern*, and others; wherein the *Spaniards* had left some weake garrisons. Nor had the *Swedish*, after this, much adoe about the *Palatinat*: till that in July after, they were sent for by the King to *Norimberg*.

The state in which the *Spaniards* left the *Palatinat*, shall wee now tell you of. Having made themselves masters of *Spiers*, they forced some garrisons upon the next neighbour walled townes, that had beeene voluntarily quitted by such *Swedish*, as were there enquarterred: even as the selfe-same townes had beeene before quitted by the *Spanijs*, as Pag. 59. of our Second Part, wee have before told you. These townes were *Answyler*, *Cran-Wesenburg*, *Landau*, and some others: and out of these (as being nothing fencible) they now at parting

parting withdraw their new-put-in garrisons. At *Germersheim* onely, did they now leave some companies. This being a pretty tight place of it selfe; would be a good safegard, besides, unto the strong towne of *Vdenheim* (or *Philipsburg*) which lyes but one Dutch league to the East of it; the *Rhone* running just betwixt them. The garrison of this towne, which had beeene put in partly by the Bishop of *Spiers*, and partly by the Chapter: and which by often going out upon Boote-haling Partees, with the Spanish garrisons of *Heidelberg* and *Frankendale*, (especially before the Spanish and the Bishop had any difference) had beeene three quarters Spaniolized: they now left in very good termes with themselves; and upon termes with their Lord the Bishop, now enemie to the *Spaniards*. The Chapter or *Dom-Herren* of the Cathedrall Church of *Spiers* was their freind; and their owne Bishops adversarie: and for their sakes, did the *Spanijs* now forbear the other lands of the Bishoprick. The quarrell was this. The Bishop *Philip Christofer* of *Spiers*, was now Elector of *Triers* also: unto which in the yeare 1623, he had beeene chosen. This Prince, had not only concluded his *Neutralitie* with the King of *Sweden*; but put himself under the *French* Kings protection: & by a *Proclamation* commanded all the *Spaniards* out of his countrey. His Fort and Electorall castle of *Hermanstein*, had he now also actuallly consigned over unto the *French*: and had likewise sent unto *Vdenheim*, (the towne of his Residence for his Bishopricke of *Spiers*) to have that delivered over to them. This so enraged both his *Chapters*, of *Triers* and of *Spiers*, (who were wholly *Austrianized*) that they forthwith proceeded to a formal and legall *Admonition* of him: which amounts to little lesse, then a *Deprivation*. The Bishop sending his Trumpet unto the garrison of *Vdenheim*, to deliver up the place unto the *French*; his desire was countermanded by the *Chapter* of *Spiers*: so that the Governour answered peremptorily, *That he held for the Emperor*. Thus were the *French* Generalls frustrated of this hope.

D d

Having

See Pag. 69.
and 72. of our
Second Part.

Differences
betwixt the
Bishop of *Spiers*,
and his
Chapter concer-
ning *Vdenheim*:

The Actions of the Spaniards

Having here made mention of the Elector of Trier and his French dependancie, Swedish Neutralitie, and enmity with the Spaniards : it shall not bee amisse to repeate something here, (though from an ancienter originall) which may conduce to the understanding of his State, and our Storie.

This Philip Christofer, then Bishop of Spiers onely ; had his ordinary Residence at this *Vdenheim* : concerning which, there had formerly fallen out a controversie betwixt the last Prince Palatine & him, and upon this occasion. In the yeare 1618. the Bishop had a mind to fortifie this *Vdenheim*: against which, the *Palfgrave* thus argued. That the place had beene viewed, and the modell projected by *Spinola*. That it thereby being made suspitious ; would become also dangerous to his Estate ; if either his enemies should get in thither, or the Bishops in time to come, prove enemies to the *Palatinat*. He urged also, that this fortification would hinder his right of sending convoyes or *Safe-Conduets* by, or through the towne. That it was contrary to the priviledges of the citie of *Spiers* ; which was, to have no new Fort erected, within 3 leagues of it. The Bishop not desisting for all these reasons, the *Elector Palasine* procures a meeting of some Princes at *Heilbrun*, upon it. There did the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marquesse of *Durlach*, and the Earles of the *Wetterau*, assist the *Palfgrave* with 4000 armed men, to flight and dismantle the whole Fortification. Hereupon was it thus agreed betwixt the *Palfgrave* and the Bishop, with consent of the *Dom-Herren* or *Prebends* of *Spiers*: that the part betwixt the *Fore-towne* and the *Castle*, should bee left unfortified : and never to be made up, but by consent of the *Palatines*. That the Bishop should never put above 30. men into it, for *Day-Warders*: and that in time of warres, the place should be a refuge for the *Palfgraves* subjects. But this agreement was in time of these late warres, broken by the Bishop; when the *Palfgrave*, namely, had no power left, to exact the performance of it. But thus much hath the Bishop now gained by it : that this towne of *Vdenheim*, which hee

and some old
discontents
betwixt the
Palfgrave and
the Bishop;
about it;

and the cau-
ses.

hee built against the will of his friends , he hath now fortified for his enemies . The Capitaine that now commanded in this *Philipsburg* , having made this deniall to the Bishops Trumpet ; to shew him withall how much good earnest he meant in it : set fire presently upon some of the new buildings next the castle , to prevent the lodging of any enemies in it : and prepares himselfe throughly for resistance . This was the state of *Vdenheim* , when the *Spaniards* forsooke the *Palatinate* .

The constitution of all the countrey together , was this . In *Frankendale* the *Spaniards* left , (or were to leave) 1200 . under *Warells* . In *Heidleberg* , 2000 . In *Spiers* , 1000 ; and in *Germerheim* , about halfe so many . In *Newstas* , likewise , *Bretzen* , *Sintzheim* , *Pfedderheim* , and *Fidelsheim* ; they left some smaller garrisons . Some writing tells mee , that *Don Philip de Sylva* did not send in those 1000 foot and 5 Cornets of horse into *Frankendale* , as he had promised . I perceive that the chiefe command over the *Militia* in the *Palatinate* ; was entrusted , principally , in the hands of Colonel *Metternish* , Governor of *Heidleberg* . All the Countrey of *Alsatia* , was left to the Marquesse *William of Baden* : who , indeed , staid not long in that his regencie . For hearing how ill the Spanish had sped in their retreat ; that the *Swedish* army was returned to *Mentz* ; that *Gustavus Horn* was come downe to bee Generall about the *Rhine* and *Mosel* : and that the passages betwixt *Heidleberg* and *Frankendale* , were likely to be every where blockt up , by his horse quarters : he by mid June drawes all the forces , out of *Spiers* and *Germerheim* ; and retires home-wards to the defence of *Alsatia* ; and that which he calls his owne Marquisate of *Baden* . And into these parts , *Gustavus Horn* presently sent the wars after him .

The *Rhinegrave* after the departure of the *Spanish* ; (for want of other employment) made a designe for the recovery of *Kirchberg* ; where in they had left a garrison . He had already advanced the service , as farre as the making of a

The Rhinegrave,
besieging
Kirchberg,

is beaten off
againe.

faintable breach in the wall; and the mounting of his scaling ladders. His men, having order now to ~~formes~~, so soone as they perceived the resolutenesse of the defendants, and that a Lieutenant who had the *point*, and fell first on up-on the Breach, was with 50 of his followers shot dead upon the place: they could by no meanes bee perswaded to give on, after them: but (cowardly enough) came running off againe, faster then ever they went forward. And thus was the Rhinegrave faine to sound the retreate; and, for that time, to levie his owne siege of Kirchberg. Shortly after this, when, namely, the French Armies were comme a little neerer to these quarters; and Gustavus Horn upon his march thitherward, to the sieges of Coblenz, & of Grafenberg: the Spanish in this towne, Simmern, and other places, yeelded upon the first summons: and went off with soldierly Conditions.

This siege, was in the end of May, and the beginning of our June: by which time, was Gustavus Horn come downe out of Bavaria from the King of Sweden: with commission to command the Armie, in the parts about the Rhine and Mosel.

GUSTAVUS



GUSTAVUS HORNS PROCEEDINGS.

From the time of his being sent downe out of Bavaria , by the King : untill the time of his going up againe thither with an Armie , after the Kings Death.



Ow the gallant yong Cavallier,
Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar*,
(second brother unto Duke *William*) had at the Kings marching
up into *Bavaria*, beeene left behinde
with the Armie about the *Palatinat*: you may collect by
what hath beeene before written.
The reasoun for which his leaving

there , is no secret in those parts. His birth, which is of * This old
an Electorall familie : his hopes , sure (if hee lives) to Duke being
bee heire to his Vnkle , the Duke of * *Saxon-Coburg* : since dead ,
with his personall valour and abilities : had allured the ther heirelesse
King of *Sweden* , to settle some desires upon him. Seldome Prince , in the
hath there beeene any great act of warre , but that some- possession : af-
thing of *Love* hath chaned in betweene ; as if to cheere ter wham the
and sweeten the sad Scene of it. This obseruation , have taild upon
the Poets thus represented by still bringing in a *Venus* , into Duke *Bernard*.

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

Mari his storie. The God of love, is painted, and Love though a comical passion, yet still beares it a Part, either in the Plot or the Catastrope, of warres Tragedie. All Stories would bee full of these discourses, had they the luck of it, (like that of the 12 Caſars) to have a Suetonius, as well as a Tacitus: a chamber-blab to tell tales of what was enacted in the withdrawing roome, as well as what was executed in the Leaguer. The King of Sweden, plainly, had made some private overtures unto Duke *Bernard*, of a marriage betwixt him and a faire yong Swedifh Ladie, daughter to his owne Sister, whom his Queene had brought with her into Germanie. This Ladie being left with the Queene about Franckford, Duke *Bernard* was stayd about Menz also: by which neerenes, he had the better oportunity to make Court unto his Mistrefle. Where the fault was, I know not. Sure it is, that in the Kings absence, there had fallen out some discontent betwixt Duke *Bernard*, and the Rex-Chancellor Oxenſtieren. The occasion was, for that the Chancellor had given some command over the Armie, (which Duke *Bernard* had expected) unto the Rhinegrave. Not unto that Cavalier the Rhinegrave, Otto Lodowick Leiftenant of the horſe, but unto the Rhinegrave Otto, unkle to this Gentleman: who had heretofore been a suiter unto the King, to bestow the towne and Jurisdiction of Bingen upon him, which had beeene part, erewhiles of the Elector of Menz his Bishopricke.

The cause of
Duke *Bernards*
going up to
the King;

Duke *Bernard*, hereupon, going up to the King, then at Munchen: received some hopes of satisfaction; and of being made Leiftenant Generall of the Foot, unto his Majestie: which hee withall expected, shoulde by sound of trumpet have beeene proclaimed throughout the Armie. But the King suspecting, how ill sir John Banier, (whole place that is) must needs take that: gave not that content unto Duke *Bernard*, in this particular. A speech there sometimes likewife was, in the Armie, that Duke William Saxon-Weymar shoulde have beeene Generalissimo, or Leiftenant Generall over all the

the Kings Armies and Commanders. These misseis, caused some private discontent in Duke *William* and his brother *Bernard*: which, some suspect, was never heartily taken off againe, to the Kings dying day. However, the King to give Duke *Bernard* and his brother some content; immediately sent away *Gustavus Horn* to command that Armie about the *Rhine* and *Mosel*; which Duke *Bernard* came from: that so there might bee one lese in the Armie, betwixt the King and them. When, also, at his comming out of *Bavaria*, hee left Duke *William* with an Armie there; it was with the Title of *Lieutenant-General*. And this is some part of the secret, for Duke *Bernards* going up: and for *Gustavus Horns* so sudden comming downe, towards the *Palatinate*.

and of Gustavus Horns coming downe, to this Armie.

Gustavus Horn comming Post out of *Bavaria*; upon Munday being *Barnabee the brights day* June 11 arrived at *Franckford*: whence the next day hee went to *Mentz*, unto the Chancellor. Here they two first overlooking, and then new ordering the Armies; drew it out into the field presently. The *Spaniards*, then in possession of most of the best townes, in the Elector of *Triers* his countrie, (the *Chapter* and some of the people favouring them) perceiving by this time, that the *Swedes* were likely to come against them in favour of the *French*: and that the *French* themselves, under the Marshall *d'Estre*, *d'Effiat* (now dead) in 2. severall Bodies, were comming neerer every day, and neerer to them: they finde meanes, (by the favour aforesaid) to choppe a garrison, all on the sudden, into *Coblenz*. The first ^{thrust} a garrison of this towne, served their turne severall wayes. so into Coblenz.
 1. It commands the passage of the *Rhine*: on the *Wester* bancke whereof it is seated; and there too, * where the river *Mosel* falls into it. 2. It became as ill as a Blockhouse, a fort and con-

* Of the mee-
fluence of
these 2. rivers
together, is
Coblenz, in
Latine called
Confluentia.

against the most strong Castle of *Ehrenbreitzen* or *Hermanstein*; which is the Bishops Palace upon the other banck of the *Rhine*: into which he had lately admitted a *French* garrison. 3. It was a strong place of it self, and had a great command, over all that corner of the *Hunsrück*. This shrewd-

ly

ly startled, both the *Elector* and his *Frenchmen*: who meant to have put themselves into it, but that the *Spaniards* had thus leapt into the saddle before them. This neighbourhood of these 2 great and emulous nations, (the breadth of the *Rhine* only being betwixt them) was the occasion of many a quarrell. The *French* author of *le soldar Suedois* complains, that the *Spanijs* once, having taken some of his Countrey-men prisoners, upon promise of good quarter: cut their throats afterwards, in cold blood: It had beene privately agreed (it seemes) betwixt their Majesties of *France & Sweden*, that *France* should have the sole *Protection* (so was it yet called) of the *Elector* of *Triers* countrie: and that, if need were, the *Swedish* should helpe to beat the *Spanijs* out of it. It appeares also by the storie, that *Gustavus Horn* had Commission from his master, for the same purpose: and that he now prepared to execute it. Hee had a good minde likewise, to get the *Dom-Herren* or Chapter of *Triers* into his clutches: but they being then at *Triers* towne, shifted themselves away into the neighbour countrie of *Lutzenburg*: so soone as ever they gat an inckling of his comming. *Horn* staid not long within *Mentz*: ere that the Armie advanced towards the *Mosel*. Marching all together in one *Grosse*, (or not very farre asunder) towards *Triers* citie and the country of *Lutzenburg*; the *Rhinegrave Otto Lodowick*, (the most of whose Army was already in the *Hunsrück*) all on the sudden, with his part of the forces strikes down on the right hand, keeping the *Mosel* on their left: towards *Coblenz*. *Horns* division that came presently after, held on their march through the *Hunsrück*, towards *Trarbach*: whose army was now said to be some 8000 foot, and about 6000 horse, under 126 Cornets.

Horn advances
towards the
Elector of *Tri-*
ers countrey.

June 17, the *Rhinegrave* first invested *Coblenz*: and (to omit the usuall advancing of all sieges) having gotten up a Batterie on the Lands side, the *French*, from over the water, out of *Hermanstein* castle, thunder also with their ordnance, into *Coblenz*. The *Spanijs* within the towne, being con-

conscious of the scantnes of their ammunition ; fall the third day to parlie with the Rhinegrave. The Elector of Cullen had in this meane time of the seige, sent in some Ambassadours from his castle of Bonne , up the Rhine ; to perswade thus much with the Spaniſh : That in case they must needs render , they should rather article to deliver up unto the French , then unto the Swediſh . But besides that the Spaniſh had in the time of this little neighbour-hood , contracted a greater spight or scorne , of the French then of the Swediſh ; neither would the Rhinegrave consent to that motion : because , that though hee well knew , that the towne was hereafter by Commission from the King of Sweden , to be turned over unto the French : yet shoule the French never say , that they had received it from those that lost it , but from those that wonne it : and not glory in it , as their owne conquest , but as the King of Swedens Resignation . The Spaniards could get no quarter at the Rhinegraves hands , till they had delivered him the Elector of Trieris his chiefe Marshall : whom , together with two great Iewes Merchants , they had before sealed on . It had gone hard with the Marshall , per chance , if the Rhinegrave had not stood upon these termes for his deliverie : the Spaniſh were very angrie with his Master the Elector , for thrusting them out of his countrey ; and not trusting their Master of Spaine with his protection , as well as France : the one being as much a Catholick as the other . All conditions being agreed upon ; Thursday June 21 , being the 4 day of the siege , the Spaniards marcht out of Coblenz , with soldiers conditions every way ; and were by The Spanish
forsake Trieris
countrey.

This towne being taken , (which was the chiefest strength of all that countrie ,) the weaker Spaniſh garrisons on the further (Eastern) side of the Rhine , in Ober Laenſtein , Nyder Laenſtein , Engers , Mantenau , Hamerſtein , Lanneck , and Montabour ; voluntarily forſooke their old quarters ; all retyring themselves quietely towards Lutzenburg . Three Regiments of the Catholike-leaguers , which had by the

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

Count of *Meroe* beente newly levyed in the Electorate of *Triers*, and its neighbour countries of *Gulick-land*, and the *Land of Marck*: were by this time upon their march, towards the relieve of *Coblenz*. They were the Regiments of *Mesternich* (Governor of *Heidleberg*) *Roelinger* and the Count of *Bronckhorst*; which were comming upon the service; but meeting, by the way, with those that had forsaken these townes; they presently convert their march towards the mountainous parts of *Alsacia*; where they first enquarter themselves in the townes of the *Strasburgers* jurisdiction: and pecece in presently afterwards, with *Offa* and *Monte Cuculi*.

The *Elector of Cullen* (brother to the Duke of *Bavaria*) upon the returne of his Ambassadors, being startled with this neernesse of the danger; he on Saturday June 23, ships away himselfe and *Treasure*, downe the *Rhine* unto *Cullen* citie: whither hee was followed by the most and chiefeſt of the *Spiritualitie*. His whole *Electorate* was in a bodily the *Elector & feare also*; for that the warres were, by this time, brought Bishoprick of so neere them. Neere them indeed; *Bonne* it ſelue, (the *Palace and Residence of the Elector*) being not above 30 Engliſh miles (by a line) from *Coblenz*; ſome of the Bishoprick, not a dozen: and that downe the *Rhine* ſtreame alſo. The *Elector* (as I finde written) preſently ſent away to enuite *Pappenheim* to his ſuccours; and entertained the Count of *Meroe* with 7. Regiments of horse and foot, into his ſervice. But *Pappenheim* being before engaged to the Archduchelle for the relieve of *Maeſtricht*; could not now helpe him: and *Meroe* expected every houre, to be by his *Generalifſimo* the Duke of *Fridland*, commanded for other ſervice. These uncertainties put the *Elector of Cullen*, and his neighbour the Duke of *Newburg*, (in the ſame caſe, and feare with him) to bethinke themſelves of thole ſafer counſells, which wee shall preſently tell you of.

Gustavus Horn Whileſt the *Rhinegrave* is at the fiege of *Coblenz*, *Gustavus Horn* with the other part of the Armie, was as baſie about

about Trarbach: the most considerable towne upon the *Mosel*, on that side; and mid-way betwixt Coblenz and Tries city. The *Spaniards* were possest of this towne also: but the place being not to be defended; they without much forcing for sake it, and retire into the strong Castle of *Grafenburgh*, hard without the towne upon the *Mosell*. The *Spanish* having good store of all military provisions within the castle; maintaine the siege very resolutly: & Horn as fiercely layes about him. He had within 4 or 6 dayes, brought his Approaches close up to their castle moate; & had a day or two battered their hard wals, with 14 peeces of Canon. He had so soarely shakea a great Rundle or Tower of the castle, that he could within a few houres have made it faultable. Upon another side also, close by the water; had he a second Battarie: and there world hee within a day or 2 bee ready for a storming. The *Spanish* Governor perceiving all this; and that hee had hardly men enough to defend all his walls, in a generall assault; nor hope of being relieved from other parts: he having done his part very well, on Munday July 2, hangs out his white streamer from the castle, to signifie his desire of a Parlie. Articles being the same night concluded upon, the *Spaniard*s march out the next Tuesday, being the 3, and were convoyed towards *Luxemburg*. This was a strong and takes it. place; and of as much importance (almost) as the Castle of *Hermanstein*. Here did Horn finde so sufficient a store of victualls and ammunition; that had it beene as throughly manned, as victualled; hee could not in thrice that time have mastered it.

Besieges the
Castle of Gra-
fenburgh,

In this meane time, had the Elector of Tries given a very friendly interview unto the *Rhinegrave*, about Coblenz: shewing good content towards him, for his cleering Coblenz of the *Spanish*.

So well was hee appayed with the *Swedish* usage of his subjects; that he sent presently into *Spiers* citie, and other places of both his Bishopricks, to publish the new agree-

The Elector of
Tries well con-
tent with
the *Swedish*.

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ment, and confirmation of the *Neutralitie*, that he had contracted with the King of *Sweden*.

To this towne of *Coblentz*, had the Elector of *Cullen* by the 16 or 18 of june, likewise sent his *Ambassadors*: and thither were the *Rex Chancellor Oxenstiern* come from *Mentz*, and *Gustavus Horn* for 2 or 3 dayes too, whilst his Armie was before *Grafenborg*. There did the *Elector* againe solicite and obtaine his *Neutralitie*, both from the Kings of *France* and *Sweden*: the *French Ambassador* being also at the Treaty. The *Neutralitie* extended no farther, then to the *Electors* Bishoprick of *Cullen* upon the East side of the *Rhine*: but to his Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and his lands in *Westphalia*, it extended not: for the *Landgrave of Hessen* had his garrisons then, in many of the townes of those parts. The *Neutralitie*, was also to bee confirmed by the 2 Kings; for whose seeing of the Articles, and returne of the *Expresses*; there were 6 weekes, (2 moneths say some) allotted. Upon this agreement, was the *Elector* to casheire the Count of *Merode* and his Regiments, and not to give him passage through his countrey, unto *Ossa* and *Monte-Cuenillis* in *Alsacia*. This is the reason, that though *Merode* presently after this, received a command from *Walstein* to march into *Alsacia*, yet could hee not obey those directions; but was faine to passe the *Rhine* at *Keiferswert*, and conjoynе himselfe with *Pappenbeim*, then going to *Maestricht*. The Duke of *Newburg* also, whose house and residence then was about *Dusseldorf* upon the *Rhine*, (next neighbour unto *Cullen*) he likewise solicited a *Neutralitie*: but what termes he obtained, I know not: this one thing is observed, That this Prince hath either beeene not constant, or not fortunate, in his Treaties.

and the Duke
of Newburg
vacates for it.

*Horn takes in
Bern castle and
Veldens.*

Gustavus Horn being master now of *Trarbach* and of *Grafenborg*; seases, in the next place, upon *Bern Castle*, and *Veldens* towne: both upon the *Mosel* towards *Triers*, and within 5 or 6 *English miles* of *Trarbach*.

And thus the *Spanijs* being on both fides of the *Mosel*, and

and by the Rhines side , cleared out of the Elector of Triers countrie; even as farre as Triers citie the Elector contended; the townes which the Swedes had taken , delivered backe into his hands : and by him, consigned over to the French, (according to the King of Swedens agreement with the French King :) the Elector of Cullen , alio, having sued out his Neutralitie , and discharged Merode of his service , and attendance upon the Rhine and Mosel : all these things being so quickly and so quietly dispatcht , about those parts, and the French then likely to be made strong enough, by the comming of the Marshall d'Estre and the Vicount Arpaion , to attack Triers citie : Gustavus Horn retires the Armie back againe unto Menz. And all in good time. The Chancellor Oxenstiern , with 8000 of the forces , that had beene left about Menz , and with some of the Rhinegraves Armie, now returned out of Triers countrie ; was by the 11 of July marching up to the relief of the King of Sweden before Norimberg : so that there was some want of an Armie about Menz and the Palatinate. Duke Julius , Administrator of the Duchie of Wirsemberg ; had likewise sent word unto this our Swedish Felt-Marshal ; of Offnes and Monte-Cuculies being upon the wing upon the frontiers of Alsacia, Wirsemberg and the Palatinate ; and of Metternichs , the Governor of Heidlebergs purpose , to take in Wiseloch : so that now it was high time for Gustavus Horn to have dispatched with the Spanis , &c to look this way againe , towards the Imperialists .

True it is that the Rhinegraves Armie , after the taking of Coblenz , had beeae sent backe towards the Palatinate : and had there recovered Sintzheim and Bretten both a little East of Spiers , and South of Heidleberg , towards the land of Wirsemberg , and Marquiseate of Durlach. Upon this neernesee of the Swedish ; the Imperiall and Bavarian garrison , which the Spanish had left behinde them in Spiers city ; by the garris-
Spiers forsakes
voluntarily abandon it. Captaine Onrust with 250 men , was son.

Oxenstiern goes
towards No-
rimberg.

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

with Commissary *Eltken*, to the Marquisate of *Baden*. They tooke 12 peeces of ordnance along with them, 100 double *Hakes*, one wagon laden with match, many barrells of Gunpowder, great store of Salt-peter, and all the Armor of the townsmen, that they could lay their hands on: so that the Burgers were faine to keepe their watch and ward at the ports and upon the tower, with battons, barres of iron, and such other wespōs. The Boors were fain to furnish the departing soldiers, with horses for their wagons: many of which were returned them, by *Tom Long* the caryer. Three hundred *Swedish*, are upon this, thrust into it, & 4 troops of horse.

That now, wee may the better understand the warres of *Alsacia* and this part of the *Palasinate*: we shall doe well to looke into the neighbour Dukedom of *Wurtemberg*, and *Circle of Schwaben*; from whence the Imperialists came into these quarters. Duke *Julius* * Administrator of *Wurtemberg*, having (as wee told you Page 173. of our Second Part) againe consented to the King of *Sweden*, according to the Conclusions of the *Diete of Leipisch*: and that agreement of his, having a little before that, been cōsentent unto in a *Diete* of the States of *Wurtemberg* at *Stugard*: the King gives him order to this purpose.

1. That the Imperiall townes of *Rentlingen* and *Felsing* within that Duchie; (which is a part of the *Circle of Schwaben*) with the townes of *Salmenbachweil*, *Zwifalten*, and *S.Blaß*, in the *Schwarzwalds*: with the Counties of *Baar* and *Zollern*: and (finally) the whole Country betwixt the towne of *Tubingen* and the frontiers of the *Switzers*, to the southward; should afford place of billeting, to the 2 Regiments of the Count *Crafft* of *Hobendorf*, to thic 2 of *Schavalitzki* and *Kanofski*, Colonells; and to the companies of *Cranck*, Leifenant Colonell.

2. That the appointed Treasurers and Commissaries, should have monyes ready collected for the soldiers pay, and necessary provisions: upon assurance, that their Chiefe, and Commanders should bee bound, for the keeping the soldiery in good discipline, and restraining them from disorders and wrongs doing.

* His yong
cōsī was not
yet come to
the govern-
ment: as Hee
since is. Hee
yet was with
his mother at
Geneva, to
keepe out of
the Imperors
reach: to
whom by a-
greement of
Duke *Julius*,
with *Fussten-*
berg; they
were to have
beēne com-
mitted for
education, as
Page 33. of
our First Part,
wee told you.

Upon the publishing of these orders, the levies went forward, and the 2. Imperiall cities aforesnamed, were each charged with the billeting of 3. Companies. But they, fearing the unruliness of the soldiers, bought it out. All the other places of the country, came in with little adoe; declaring for the *Diete of Leipsich* and the King of *Sweden*, as *Generall Director of the warres*. The towne of *Elwang* only, (which is the chiefeſt of the Bishopricke of that name, in the Northern parts of the *Circle of Schwaben*) stood out againſt these orders. Some Imperialists had beeſe newly thrust in thither, and they ſignified their obedience to the *Swedifh* and *Wirtembergs* Officers, with their pikes and muskets: whereupon ſome troops being ſent for to enforce them, the *Elwangers* loſt 4 or 500 men, and 2 of their greater Officers: being faine alſo to depart the ciuite. The reſt of the Imperiall troops in the leſſer townes hereabouts, hearing of this defeat: betake themſelves into the stronger towns, & eſpecially into thene about the *Bodenſee* or the *Lake of Conſtantz*; on the Southwesterne corner of the *Circle of Schwaben*, next to *Schwitzerland*. This corner a man may call one of the backdooreſ to *Germanie*: for that this and *Tirole*, are the great *Paffes* and *Avenues*, to the ſaccors out of *Italie*. The Commissarie *Oſſa* (a notable pragmatiſcall man) had with great judgement and diligence, taken order for the locking up of this back doore, and for keeping the key of it. And that was *Lindau* eſpecially: which ſtanding in a little Iler in the lake of the *Bodenſee*, he had taken good order, heretofore, both to provide and fortifie. The ſame ſervice had hee done the Emperor, in the townes of *Conſtantz*, *Ratolſell*, *Vberlingen*, *Moersburg*, *Buschorn*, and *Bregenz*, all round about this lake; which is in length 44 or 45 miles *English*; and 12 in breadth, in ſome places. The ſame had hee done to *Zell*, *Wangen*, *Ravenſburg*, and divers others: which helpt much unto the ſecuring, beſides, of the Arch Duke *Leopolds* lands, and the Emperors ſecond Sonnes lands, in *Alfaria*; which joyne upon the weſt of it. This that followes, was ſomething

* He that had
beene *Tillies*
Enginier, to
take Magden-
burg.

things towards *Ossaes* order. The Regiment of Colonell *Farensbach he billeted upon the Countie of *Rechberg*, the Lordship of *Weissenstag*, and the Tenants of the Abbessie of *Buchan*. The Landgrave of *Stellingen*, (a Protestant, and chiefe of the familie of the *Pappenheims*, uncle to the soldier, and hereditary Marshall of the Empire) hee and the Count of *Bulx*, were charged with the Regiment of *Balderton*. The Counties of *Furstenberg* and *Wuzelb* and towne of *Memmingen*, were faine to entertaine the Count of *Ritbergs* Regiment: The Duke of *Savelli's* Regiment was laid upon other Lordships. Other troopes were sent to *Kempten*, *Isnau*, and *Pfullendorff*. Some other Regiments were sent towards *Alsacia*; and some into *Zabern*, the place of residence for the Bishop of *Strasburg*. And for that there had bee divers companies of the *Catholick-leaguers* forces, billeted upon the hereditary lands of the house of *Austria*, and betwixt *Vlm* and *Ausburg*: *Ossa* required the Duke of *Bavaria* to remove them, that there might bee some Imperialists brought in place of them. This the Duke tooke regret at; rather contented to have such guests, as those, upon another mans lands, then in his owne countrey. As for the Emperors Tenants and Copie holders, they were warned to appeare at *Stockheim*; and either to take soldiers into their Countrey, or to buy it out with their readie money. All this had *Ossa* done, very substantially: by which he first of all made himselfe sure of those 3. principall townes of importance, *Zell*, *Lindau*, and *Constanza*: all which, he perswaded either to take in garrisons from him; or to raise some of their owne, for the Emperors service. *Zell* promised to raise 500. *Constanza* tooke in 10. Companies from him, and *Lindau* as many. And very well secured he, in the next place, the Bishopricks of *Moenzburg*, and *Constanza*, with the Lordships of *Bregens* and *Yeld-kirch*: and kept, lastly, the passages free from out the *Gri-sions*, and the *Switzers* Countries; as also out of the possesstions of the Imperiall familie, on that side of *Alsacia*.

By

By this you know something of the state of that *Circle* of *Schwaben*: and what townes and enemies the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, had there to doe withall. The Duke had by the beginning of this yeare, increased his Armie to 8000, and had well begunne to put the Kings orders in execution. Beginning on that side of his Duchie, which was next unto the King; hee had by the 20 of June, taken in the Princely Abby of *Zwifalten*; with the towne and jurisdiction about it: with thole other places that lie in that Southwesterne frontier of *Wirtemberg* by the *Dannbie* side, towards *Bibrach*. Thus skimmes hee over some other of his Frontiers on the South, and towards the Westward: from divers of the weaker townes whereof, which were *Catholick*; hee drives out the Imperialists, and thrusts his owne and the Kings forces upon them.

The Duke of
Wirtemberg put
into the field.

For all this that was done by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, in his country; or by the *Swedes*, in the *Palatinat*: the Imperialists beganne againe to bustle very sturdily, in the neighbour *Alsacia*. The Commissarie and Generall *Offa*, who about the 22 or 23 of May, had beene skared from *Bibrach* by the King of *Sweden*, (as Page 171. of our Second Part, wee have told you) was by this time come through *Schwaben* by the way of *Weingarten*: where having (this second time) left the best order that he could, and 3000 Boores up in commotion; hee was now with some forces, conjoyned with the Count of *Monte-Cuculi* in *Alsacia*. So was the Marquesse *William of Baden* too; so that now they had an Armie in the field of 5 or 6000 men, whereof about 25 Cornets of Horfemen. The next good townes, of *Bensfelt*, *Schlesfatt*, *Colmar*, *Brisach*, *Elsas-Zabern*, and others: were all indifferently well garrisoned, and at their devotio[n]. The 3. Regiments of Count *Bronckhorst*, *Mettternich*, and *Roetlingen*; which shoulde (as we told you) have relieved *Coblentz*: were long before this, come through the County of *Lutzenburg*, and part of *Lorrain* into *Alsacia*; and kept a quarter in the jurisdiction of the *Strasburgers*. These

Offa, *Monte-*
Cuculi and the
Marquesse of
Baden, ralle
together in
Alsacia.

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were Monte-Cuculies friends too , and readie to joyne with him upon occasion.

Upon confidence of this strength ; *Offa* (being Imperiall Commisarie,) sends a Trumpet unto the towne of *Strasburg*, to require entertainment & quarter for these tronps, in the townes of their jurisdiction. *Strasburg* having before accorded with the King of *Sweden* , (as Page 174 of our *Second Part* we have told you,) refuses *Offa* in his demands: who gives order , thereupon, to *Monte-Cucul's* , to seise on *Marlenheim* , *Barr* , and other townes of the jurisdiction : the subjects whereof they made to pay , for the refuall of their Masters. Having done their pleasure here , they with their whole Army aforesaid , passing with speed through the Lower Marquisate of *Baden* , (then in possession of their partner the Marquesse *William* :) they all on the sudden , in the end of July , overspread his cosins land , the Marquesse of *Durlach* : where they found more booty , then opposition.

*take Breiten
in the Palati-
nate.*

Thence passe they onwards into the *Palatinate* ; where they attack *Bretten* : a pretty towne of the *Palatinates*, lately by the *Swedes* recovered from the *Spaniſh* : about 12 or 13. English miles to the East of *Vdenheim*. Here having broken open a Port with their *Petards* , they enter into the towne, and sacke it ; burne the gates, dismantle the walls, and enforce 200 *Germanes* (which the *Swedes* had lately left there in garrison) to follow their Enseignes. This shewes their mercie , or their need of soldiers ; for that they gave so faire quarter to the *Swediſh*. Nine of the principall *Burgers* , they tooke away with them : whom they meant to retaine with them , as *Capitall pledges* , for the good abearance of the reſidue.

*The Duke of
Württemberg
making to-
wards them ;
they counter-
march to Knit-
ingen.*

The *Administrator* of *Württemberg* , seeing the danger now ſo neer him , (*Bretten* being within 4. English miles of his frontiers) knew there was no way to avoid the storme, but by making a hole in it. Drawing , thereupon 8000 ar-
med men unto that ſide of the country , hec resolves to fall upon

upon the Imperialists. But this they prevented : for no sooner heard they of the Dukes comming ; but forbearing to advance any further to the Northward into the Palasinate ; they call off their troopes from that haunt, and hunt-counter with them. Back againe to Knillingen they goe ; 3 English miles from Bretten : where hearing , by this time , that the Administrator was not so neere them as they expected ; they resolve to have a bout with this Knillingen. Covertly , therefore , and out of ambush laid there in the night time , sending some of theirs to seise upon one of the city gates : they present their Armie before the walls , to second them. The Port being gained , the townsmen , and some countrey people gotten in thither for shelter ; make towards the gate to regaine it. But there was Monte-cunculi too hard for them ; and there they lost their towne to him , and betwixt 300 and 400 of their lives , into the bargaine. Lost their towne , I say ; for the goods of it being pillaged , fire was put to the 4 corners of it : so that now , a travailer can hardly finde Knillingen ; unless he rakes for it in the ruines.

Thence after a day or 2 , for feare of the Wirtembergers ; make they Westward some 10 or 12 miles , unto the Rhine-
ward ; putting themselves there , under the favour of the
garrisons of Germersheim and of Vdenheim . Their chiefe
Quarter thereabouts was at Rhinhausen , about 3 miles from
Spiers , and 4 from Vdenheim . Here have they a new de-
signe to recover Spiers : so that getting together all the Ponts
and Rhine-ships , that they could lay their hands on ; they
trust to be in the night let in by their correspondents within ,
and so to reprise the city .

This , whilst in the beginning of August , they are about ;
they found the Scene to become more suddenlie varied ,
then they expected. For Gustavus Horn being returned un-
to Mentz , by the end of July ; and having intelligence of
their recovering of Bretten ; and of Metternichs besieging of
Wiesloch : he by the 10 or 11 of August , had rallied all the
forces he could spare out of the Electorate of Mentz , and nere
Gustavus Horn advancing in
to the Palasi-

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

encamps a
while at Man-
heim.

the townes along the Rhine ; and was resolved, now, to goe out in quest of these Imperialists. His Horse, hee first of all passes over the Rhine, by the bridge of Menz ; putting them upon the Easterne side of the water , next unto the Imperialists. His Foot, advance along the other side , unto Wormbs ; and are there passed over the Rhine , unto their Horsemen. The appointed *Rendez-vous* , was at *Manheim* : 12 English miles from *Spiers* , and 16 from *Wifeloch*. Under favour of this strong towne , and the *Neccars* meeting there with the Rhine ; Horn for a while encampeth. His purpose in it was, that he might learne out by espyalls (now every where sent abroad) what was the state of the *Wirtembergers* armie ; the countenance of *Metternichs* before *Wifeloch* ; and the posture of *Monte-Cuculi*. Of *Wirtemberg* hee heard , that he was readie to second him ; and that hee lay , in the meane time , at his close-ward ; keeping his eye still , upon the point of *Monte-Cuonti*.

The storie of
the siege of
Wifeloch.

Of *Wifeloch*, he learned thus much , that *Metternich* , Governoour of *Heidleberg* , and *Lamulius* , (or *la Melie* , as others write him) Governor of *Vdenheim* (as I take it) had put their strengths together , to attack it. That Captaine *Rosberg* having before hand beene sent thither about the 16 of July ; had first summoned it , and then presented them his Canon. That upon the townes refusal to render , the 2 Governors aforesaid , had round begirt them with their garrisons ; and ever since , continued to besiege them. That Colonel *Straßburger* had beene surprised neere unto *Heidleberg* ; and slaine in his owne defence , by *Metternich* : who embalming the dead Colonell , sent his body to the Governoour of *Menz* , to be redeemed with the exchange of some Imperial prisoners : sending him word withall , that money went hard with him ; that his oile was deare , and that his men had taken a great deale of paines about him . That *Metternich* had lately received soine small seconds , from *Monte-cuculli* ; had fore pressed the besieged , and was already gotten so neere the walls , that they could heave in hand-Granadoes into the towne ,

towne, and shoot in other artificiall wild fire.

Upon this newes, *Horn* marches to the relief of it : but *Metternich*, upon *Metternich* getting intelligence of his comming, needed not on *Horns* command, to bidden goe ; for that he the 15 of August, in all hast rai-
ming, raises his siege.

Heidleberg. It so chanced, that some few howers before *Metternich* had received tydings of *Gustavus Horns* comming ; he had dispatched a trusty Officer of his Army, (a *Corporall*) accompanied with 6. Horsemen, with letters unto *Offa* and *Monte-Cuculi* to give them newes of *Horns* marching, and to desire this their last succours ; with which hee beleaved, to take in the towne, before it could be relievied. *Horn* came so suddenly upon *Metternich* at his rising : that the *Swedes* Vant-curriers had already surprised some of those laggs, that had not made so much hast as they should, into *Heidleberg*. Some out-riders of the *Swedes*, had light upon *Metternichs* *Corporall* likewise, as he was now comming home againe, from *Monte-Cuculi*. The letters found about him, discovered thus much : that the next day, (being the 16 of August) he would send some good troopes, to reenforce the siege of *Wifeloch*. A flying report, after the dispatch of the *Corporall*, was (I know not which way) brought unto the 2. Imperiall Generalls, that *Metternich* had already taken in *Wifeloch*, but was himselfe by the sudden comming of some *Swedes*, againe besieged in the place. This false report, caused them to send the very flower of their Cavallerie, to disengage *Metternich*.

Gustavus Horn having by the *Corporals* letters understood, that *Monte-Cuculi* the next day, would send some succours unto *Metternich*, (though this latter circumstance he understood not) resolved to prevent their ever comming to him. And whereas there was a place of *Covert* neere the Highways syde, betwixt *Rhinehausen* (whence the Imperialists were to come) and *Wifeloch* : the shadines of that place did *Horn* make choise of, to dresse his ambush in ; out of which he meant to fall upon the others, as they were by-passing.

Mante-Cuculi
sending 1000
Horse towards
Wiselech:

they are way-
laid by *Horn*,

The next day came there a full thousand Horsemen along, of the very flower of the Imperiall Armie, lead by Colonel *Vitzthumb* (a Colonell of *Elias Zabern*, as I take it) and the Colonell *Montbaillon*: who had the Reere of them. Their owne strength , and the mis-intelligencee of their enemies posture , whom they had thought to have surprised at the siege of *Wiselech* , made them advance with so much the more speed , and security. *Horn* had so ordered it at first, that they should passe along by the place where his horse lay , unto the Post where his Foot were lodged ; that so he might have gotten them into the middle of him. But perceiving, when they came something neere him, that they strooke short downe on the tone side of him ; and did not come so right forward , or so close to his ambuscado , as hee expected : he was faine to send out the *Rhinegrave* with a *forlorne hope* of Horse , to engage them to the encounter : whilst hee could bring up some stronger troopes to second him. The *Rhinegrave* was presently upon the Polls of them: for the Imperialists perceiving so few to come upon them, never doubted , or so much as mended their march for the matter. *Montbaillon* (a gallant Cavalier , as it appeared) drawing out some Curiassiers of *Harincourts* , for his seconds : now making a vertue of necessitie, leads on some of his owne Horse to confront the Squadron of the *Rhinegraves*. *Montbaillon* falling on, *Lay too't bravely, fellow soldiers*, saies he : *Vitzthumb* , thereupon , bringing up the rest of the forces. The Swedish Felt-Marshall having made his game, as well as ever hee desired, (which was but to make them fight) brings on some Squadrons of Horse and Foot upon the front ; and others , upon both the flancks , of the Imperialists. *Montbaillon* , by this time , perceiving the cards to be pack't against him, would faine have flung up his game & have been gone towards *Mingelsoisheim*, to the East of *Wiselech*. But the Swedish being dealt much the fairer; would not consent they should goe off so , without leaving their stakes behinde them. There was *Montbaillon* shot dead with

with a Carabine, and Treilly, his Leiftenant-Colonell, fell at and defeated, the same time by him. Diverfe Rittmasters were there dismounted, and above 200 of the common fouldiers, *Vitz-thumb* scap't a scouring, by his good Horsemanship; and so did 6 or 700 others. The *Swedes* had the chase of them till they came to *Mingelheim*, full 6 English miles from *Wise-loch*. Diverse of the fleers having runne their horses out of breath, were faine to light on foot, and runne into the woods to hide them: but a bush was not baile good enough, to hold them from being prisoners. Their Horses, Armes, and Buff-coats, were good spoile to these that tooke them: and so was their moneths meanes too, which they were by the *Law of Armes*, to pay for their ransomes. The prisoners confess, that these 1000 Horse, were the very pride of their Armie (almost halfe of them being Curiassiers and men at Armes) and that the rest were not much to bee redoubted.

Off and Monte-Cuculi having newes, by those that esca-
ped, of this soare defeat; looked for no more courtesie, if
they should there expect the *Swedes* comming: and there-
upon they the very same day, leave their old quarters at *O-
berhausen* and *Rhinehausen*, & hie them away towards *Vden-
heim*. The boats which they had before gotten together to
surprise *Spiers withall*, they were now enforced to convert
to another purpose: to carrie, namely, their luggage towards
Vdenheim, and there, the selfe-same night and next morning,
to waft themselves over the *Rhine* in them. The next day
August 17 being Friday, comes *Gustavus Horn* unto *Rhine-
hausen*, in pursuite of his enemies: but there found he none,
besides some sick and maimed men, who had not been able
to follow after their fellowes. By them did *Horn* learne,
how their 2 Generalls had passed over the *Rhine*: and the
project they had for their many boats, to have taken *Spiers* pursued to the
city. The Imperialists staid not upon the further side of the
Rhine, neere the place where they had passed it: but hastening
along to the Southward by the side of it, they goc immedi-
ately

they goe to so. ately towards the faire citie of *Hagenau* in *Alsatia*, about licite *Hagenau*, 10 English miles from *Strasburg*. This towne , they solicite

joyne forces
with the 3.
other Regi-
ments,

and prepare
their townes,
to be besieged.

to their partie : but the townsmen liked better to stand upon their owne guard , then to undo themselves , by the chargeable entertainement of such gaardians. Now doe *Offa* and *Monte-Cuculi* solicite the 3. Regiments of *Bronckhorst*, *Mettternich* and *Roellingen* , to come and joyne with them: which their owne safeties , made the other willing enough to consent unto. The Marquesse *William of Baden* , now puts his subjects to it, to doe their uttermost for their owne safeties : which was for them to take *Aimes* , as many as could bee gotten to it. Now does the Commissary *Offa* stirre himself and so does the Count of *Salm* , who is Deane of *Strasburg* : to supply the good townes of *Benfeld*, *Schlettstadt*, *Celmar* , & the rest with garrisons, victuals & ammuniti-
on : all of them looking shortly to bee besieged. For these provisions were the villages of the *Strasburgers* harryed.

Horn obtaining
passage of the
Strasburgers.

Nor did they faile of their expectations. For *Gustavus Horn* sending instantly to the Magistrates of *Strasburg* , to desire passage for his Armie over the *Rhine* , by their bridge: the ill usage of their subjects by *Monte-Cuculi* , and the danger themselves should perpetually be in, (nothing being now left them, but the walls of their owne citie :) became most prevailing arguments for the obtaining of the passage. Upon Tuesday , therefore , August 21 , is the bridge freed for the Swedish Felt-Marshall ; who with the *Rhinegrave Otto Ladowick* , with 6 Coaches , and 2 troopes of Horse in his attendance , came the same day into the beautifull towne of *Strasburg* : where he was received with the *Towne-Oration* , and such a present of Wine , Fish , and Oates : as is accustomedly made unto Princes and Ambassadors. The bridge demanded , is about an English mile without the towne of *Strasburg* , towards the *Palatinato*. It is about 3: quarters of an English mile long : the *Rhine* there entertaining some other riverets , and they together , making some overflowings , and continued poolees of water. The bridge is upon wooden

wooden Arches; no broader then the length of a long *Deale board*, which lie so loose and unfastned upon it, that the citizens have a saying of their bridge, that if a dogge runnes along upon the ends of the boards, he will be gibbetted, or tilted over into the water.

The Swedish Armie the next day comming after their Generall; had not beeene very squeamish (that's none of a soldiers sinnes) in taking what they found in the Marquisate of *Baden*, as they had passed through it. Marquesse *William*, had made himselfe an active man in these warres, and a furtherer of the demolition of *Knissingen*. Now therfore do his subjects pay for it: being made to redeeme their houses, from the fire, by a readie paying in of their Contributions. August 22, the Swedish Van of Horfe, were passed over the bridge aforesaid; and so over the river *M*, into the enemie countrey of the *Vpper Alsatia*. This Vantgard consisted of 3000 Horse, and some few Regiments of Foot-men. In the *Rhinegraves* Regiment, were 12 Cornets; in Colonell *Iflers*, 5, *Zillars* had but 4, *Schawalitzki* had 10 there, himselfe in person being behinde. *Vrseler* had 3, besides some troops of Curiassiers of the Generalls, and 2 Ensignes of Dragooneers: in all, about some 36 or 37 Cornets. They drew 12 peeces of ordnance (besides field-peeces) along with them, and the chiefe of all the baggage and provisions for their whole Armie.

The rest of the Horfe, were behinde with the grosse of the Foot; unto which, divers troopes of the *Wirsembergers*, under the leading of Colonell *Helmstat*, were by this time conjoined. This Reere, (consisting of 6000 Foot, besides Horse) was brought up by Colonell *Christofer Haubald*, Governour of *Wormbs*, who as it appeares, was Major-General of the Foot unto his Excellence the Felt-Marshall, as the *Rhinegrave* was Leiftenant of the Horfe. The Imperialists had no certaine Armie in the field, at that tyme: but dispersed themselves round about *Brisach*, *Schlesstat*, *Celmar*, *Obernheim*, and *Hagenaw*.

*passes his
Vantgard o-
ver into the
Vpper Alsatia.*

leaving Haubald betwix
with the Foot,
to take in
Stolbov.

which service
Haubald ha-
ving done,

Haubald had commission from his Generall, to take in *Stolbov*, by the way : an indifferent strong towne of Marquesse *William of Badens*, upon the East, and contrary side of the *Rbine*, from *Straßburg*, and about 14 English miles from it. Summons being given and refused, the Approaches are begunne; and the Batteries. *Haubald* gave such free fire upon the towne, that not a man, scarcely, durst appeare upon the Bullwarke. The defendants having lost all their out works, and their breach being almost faultable : were said to have hung out a white flagge, in signe of parlee. Shooting being thereupon, given over, hostages sent into the towne to treat, and the *Swedish* before the walls upon confidence thereof, roaving up and downe too carelesly without their owne Covert, and within the command of the towne ordnance, had a volley, all on the sudden, sent in amongst the thickest of them. There, were divers both killed and spoiled, and Colonell *Schavalizzi* had his horse shot under him. *Haubald* perceiving this treacherie, sends to demand his hostages againe, and to bid them looke to themselves, for he would bee bobd with no more parties from them. Commanding all his Batteries, therefore, to give them another generall *Salve*: the terror of that wrought such a repentence in the townsmen, that they hang out their white flag againe, and send out their wives and children to begge mercie of the *Swedish*. This was against the minde of the Governor, *John Philip Schawenburg*, (Sergeant Major General unto *Monte-Cuculi*) and thole *Lorrainers* and *Italiens*, that were of the garrison : hee, having beene before over-wrought by the inhabitants to the parlie, had beene againe provoked by the *Lorrainers* and *Italiens*, to thunder out this second defiance : and now againe enforced by all this feminine importunitie, to condiscend unto a finall yeelding. He, therefore, with those that had beene against surrendering, was kept prisoner, by *Haubald*: the *Germane* soldiers finding good quarter, upon the usuall condition of taking entertainment with the conquerors. Here did *Haubald*

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*Hanbold finde 4 great peeces of Canon , and 50 double Hakes as they call them. Small store of Ammunition , was there to be had : the great want of which necessaries , was the cause of the soone yeelding : though *Sohavenburg* , like a brave enemie , made countenance to the contrary.*

*Stolhoven being in this manner taken in ; Hanbold thence advances towards *Strazburg* : and there with 12 peeces of ordnance , besides fielding-peeces ; passes the bridge over to his General : who had before this time , blockt up the strong townie of *Benfeld*.*

Leaving both them, thus employed : turie we aside , a little unto their neighbour and Confederate , the *Administrator* of *Wirtemberg* , who is presently to come into these parts , and into our Storie . Hee , in the meane time , (that is , since *Offa* and *Monte-Cuculi* had beeene taken up with *Gustavus Horn*) had presently thereupon , withdrawne his Army from his frontiers next to *Bresten* and *Knitlingen* ; where , we told you , hee had in the end of July and beginning of *Augуст* , waited upon *Monte-Cuculi* . Thence goes the *Administrator* more inwardly into his owne countrey , to the Southward , and along the Westerne bancke of the river *Neckar* . There , towards the middle of *Augуст* , takes he in *Rotenburg* , 6 *English* miles from *Tubingen* . A little after this , he recovers the good towne of *Horbe* , 10 miles up the same river , and same side of it . Both these , were on the neerest frontiers (almost) of the Dukedom ; next unto those parts , where *Horns* warres now lay ; and by taking of them , was the midway betwixt both their forces , made the clearer ; and they the nearer together to conjoyne them . This done , and the *Administrator* having notice of the taking of *Stolhoven* , some few of his , being now sent (by order from the King of *Sweden*) to augment the garrison of *Ausburg* : hee sends the greater part of his Armie over the mountaines , through the rich and pleasant *Kintzker thale* (commonly called the *Kintzinger dale*) which the river *Kintzkb* both watereth and nameth . Some *Swedish* troopes had

Gg 2

passes his Ar-
mie over the
Rhine to his
General.

The actions
of Wirtemberg.

who having
taken in Roten-
berg and Horbe,

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

now comes
and besieges
Offenburg.

Haubald besieges Obenheim;

which is yeelded to him,

had beeene left behinde, on that side the Rhine, about Stalhoven, to re-enforce these *Wirtembergers*: and their designe now was, upon the Imperiall city of Offenburg, upon the said river Kintzki; about 10 English miles from Strasburg. This was the agreement betwixt the *Administrator* and the *Swedish* Felt-Marshall: to give action to the Imperialists, on both sides of the Rhine, at one instant; that they might not well know, which way next to turne them. But of this siege, presently; and in the order of time, that it ought to be.

Wee left Haubald, even now, passing over the Rhine-breame. That done, and hee advancing to the South-westward, by S^e Arbogast and Nidernheim: the Imperiall garrison of Obernheim, a little beyond Bensfeld, avoide out of it before his comming. But the townsmen taking themselves to be more interested in the keeping of their owne, then the mercenary soldiers: put on a resolution in their State-houes, to defend themselves against the *Swedish*. But for all their bigge words, after they had beeene once beaten in, upon a slight faille which they made, to hinder the *Swedish* Approches, & that they heard the Canon bullets ratling a little among the tiles of their houses: the good men luffered themselves to bee perswaded by their wives and daughters, to make but a money matter of it, and to hearken to a partie. The townsmen, thereupon, being used to driving of bargaines, more then to driving away their enemies; now bargaine for their liberties: and 10000 Dollars they paid for it.

Whilst this is a doing, about the end of August, the *Wirtembergers* assisted by some *Swedish*, are at the siege of Offenburg. Summons being given; the citizens having first obtained a little respite, to consider of it; seeme desirous to enter into a Parlie. This was but a trick of theirs, to gaine time withall: seeing they were assured to be relieved from Monsr. Cuculi, if there were any port yet open, by which to receive the succours into their citie. The *Wirtembergers* thinking all their owne; were not so carefull, either to surround the citie, or to have their Sentinells and espials abroad, as they

they ought to have beeene : By this negligence of theirs, 300 Imperialists thrusting themselves into the citie ; the townsmen breake off their Partie , and leſt ſlie their ordnance among the *Wirtembergers*. Here was Colonell *Langmeyer* ſlaine ; with divers others of the *Wirtemberger* Officers. The besiegers finding the besieged to plie them hard with ſallies ; to beate them out of their *Approaches*, and to fill up their *Lines*, by flinging in the earth againe : were faine, di-
 rectly, to ſend for *Gustavus Horn* to come and helpe them. Thither came he in person , with ſome re-enforcements. By his strength, and ſkill, and diligence; the lines in 4 or 5 daies were perfected , Batteries , and wide breaches made ; and ladders gotten readie , for the *Scalado*. The garrison and citizens perceiving this ; they, to beginne the moneth , and end the weeke withall , Saturday September the first (old Style) ſent out to treat the conditions of ſurrendring. They are granted upon indifferent termes unto the garrison : whereupon the next day , September the 2 , 300 ſoldiers on foot , and 120 on horſeback , march forth freely out of the towne , to him that ſent them. *Monday* and *Tuesday* were the dayes appointed for the treating with the townsmen: who for having dealt ſo treacherouſly with the *Wirtember-*
gers, were compelled , firſt , to redeeme themſelves with 20000 Dollars : & 2. to prevent their correspondence with the Imperialists , was there a garrison of 500 men put upon them. 3. Their ſuburbs which themſelves had partly burnt downe, and partly beaten downe, for the fortifying of their towne ; were they made promife, not to build up againe, for ever. 4. They were to take an oath of homage to become hereditarie ſubjeſts unto the Crowne of *Sweden*. 5. And laſtly , to bee forbidden meddling with any Armes, for ever. Here was found an excellently well furnished Maga-
 zine ; both for viuualls, Guns, and ammunition : which well helpe *Gustavus Horn* to beate all the rest of the countrey. Whilſt these conditions are atreating , the Armie had gi-
 ven summons to the ſtrong & well provided Castle of *Or-tenburg*.

The *Wirtember-*
 gers besieging
 Offenburg;

Are faine to
 ſend for *Gusta-*
vus Horn to
 helpe them:

By whom the
 towne is ta-
 ken.

Ortenburg Ca. tenburg, the chiefe strength of the Kintzinger-dale aforesaid, which (to bee briefe) was faine to follow the example of its predecessors, and to resigne up it selfe on Wednesday the 5. of September.

By the taking of these 2 most important places, was the towne of Brisach quite founded : which though full 10 English miles, from this Offenburg, yet it being upon the same side of the Rhine with it, there was never a considerable strength betwene , to shelter it. Hereabouts , had Monte-Cuculi all this while laine : as if to give ay me to the losing of the Countrey. The Swedish Army now making that way , both hee and the Commissary Offa , (not able to abide their comming) are faine to depart the Countrey. Offa (as I finde) went first of all towards Nancy in Lorraine , or else to Biyanson in Burgundy , to leave his Lady there, in a place of securitie : presently returning over the Rhine again, into Schwabland. Monte-Cuculi resigning his Generalship, in those parts , unto Marquess William of Baden , adventures with some troopes of Horse , especially , to brush through the Easterne skirts of the Duchie of Wirtemberg , and so to Kempfen in the very edge of Schwabland , and to get that way into Bavaria. Thereabouts (as I finde) had Sir Patrick Rushven a blow at him : being said to kill him 300 men, and to take 150 prisoners. Thus , with much adoe , gets he over the Lech about Schongau and Faeffen : and in Bavaria you have before heard of him , in the Kings storie.

The coast (for the time) being thus cleared of the Imperialists ; there was not a foe, in the field to make opposition against the Swedish or the Wirtébergers. Hereupon, is the faire Kintzinger-dale brought under Swedish contribution : & in it, the inheritance of Eggon Count of Furstenburg , who , as in our First Part we have often told you, was sometimes the Emperors great Generall , in this Cycle of Smevia . How he had resigned his Generalship , & retired into a privacie ; you may see Page 119 , and 220 , of our Second Part . In what estate, the countrie & himselfe were now in ; tis best knowing

The Earldom
of Furstenburg,
taken.

ing out of his owne Letters , written unto *James Hannibal*,
Count of *Ems*: which were by the way intercepted.

M Y L O R D :

I Yesterday received a Letter from the Marquesse *William* of *Baden*: and the sad newes in it, of the falling of the *Marshall Horn* with 10000 men, into his Marquisate. That also hee had required 30000 Florens from him, in present payment ; & a place of *Rendez-vous*, for 4 fresh Regiments. I am very sorrie to see him made a beggar as I my selfe am ; though otherwise , there be no comparifon betwixt us : he having received at the Emperors hands so brave and good a countrey, as is his Maruqilate ; whilst I, for mine owne part, have neither master nor money. Thus am not I able to help him ; nor he me ; nor you either of us. I had before spent almost all I had, in these warres ; and now am I utterly ruined of the residue. And thus much could I not but give you part of, that you might helpe to condole with us.

*Furstenberg's
letter, and
complaint.*

Heyligenburg Septemb. 8. 1632

Your Lops. true friend and servant *Eggon*
Count of *Furstenburg*,

The style of this Lord *Eggon*, is Count of *Furstenberg*, *Heiligenberg*, and *Werdenberg*; *Landgrave of Bare*, Lord of *Hansen* and the *Kintzinger-dale*, he is also a *Canon* of the Churches of *Cullen* and *Strazburg*, and *Provost of S. Gereons* in *Cullen*. But of these Revenues , his towne of *Furstenberg*, and the fayre *Kintzinger-dale*, are lost : his Lordship of *Bare* in *Alsacia* plundered by the Imperiall souldiers that Quartered in it : *Werdenberg* is but a Title: So that you see he had cause enough to complaine of being undone : having only his house at *Heiligenberg* left; and his three Church dignities. Thus is the spoiler spoiled , and the Emperors Generall left unto the mercie of his enemies. So well hath the Count of *Furstenberg's* service beeene rewarded , since the Battell of *Leipsich*.

This

The advan-
tage of these
Conquests.

The Arch-
duke Leopold
dyes,

and the Em-
peror is sick of
a Quartane.

THIS conquest, was felt as farre as the Count of Hanox, Lichtenbergs possessions : all the Lords and Gentlemen on that side the Rhine, being likewise made sensible of it: The Kintzinger-dale was againe opened for the Straßburgers ; and the way quite cut off from the Imperialists, that no succours could passe from Schwabland or Iealie. By this conquest, was all cleere againe from Straßburg unto Kitzingen in Franconia, to the North-Eastward : to Rotweil upon the Neckar in Schwabland , to the South-Eastward : on the 3 side , unto Ydenheim in the Palatinate, and on the 4 side quite through the Hercinian Forrest or the Swartz-walls into Bavaria. All this, was by these conquests, put into the power of the King of Sweden. Some say, that the griefe of this newes, added some speeding malignity, unto the Arch-Duke Leopolds infirmities : which Prince, now lying for his pleasure at Swatz in Tirole, was unexpectedly (and after much hunting) taken with a Catarre in his head, which fell downe and put one of his eyes out : which being followed with a fluxe, and a continuall feaver ; in few dayes made an end of him. He dyed September 13, at which time, his Imperiall Majesty, likewise, was most unprincely haddeled, by an unmannerly & rebellious Quartanague. The Archduke dyed in an ill time : seeing, at this instant, his owne Estates, laid open to the prey : his familiie, all embroyled ; his Allies, much adoe to subsit ; his faire hopes, blasted ; his great designes, returned upon himselfe ; his enemies, beginning apace to be many ; and his friends, few ; his neighbours not much to bee relied on ; for that, they beganne to recall the bad remembrances, of ancient and forepassed jealousies and mis-intelligences. In this ill time, dyed the Arch-Duke: who had he lived but 2 moneths longer, would well have cheered up himselfe, with the death of the King of Sweden. Presently after the death of this *Leopold*, his Counsellors take care for the ensurung of the passages of his countrey of Tirole : and confirme Marquesse *William* in his Generallship,

ship, against *Gustavus Horn*: helping to make him up an Armie of 4000 men, with which hee kept himselfe about *Ensisheim*.

To returne to our Swedish Felt-Marshall. The countrey on that side of the *Rhine* being thus ranged into order; the selfesame Wednesday night, that *Orenburg* Castle was taken upon, did *Gustavus Horn* with certaine of his troopes, both Horse and Foot, passe *Strasburg* bridge againe: him selfe lodging the same night within the citie. His forces went to their old quarters againe, beyond the river *Ill*: whither a little after that, the rest of his Armie followed. The *Wurtembergers* returned into their owne Countrie, first; and so towards the *Bodensee*, and that to divert the Imperialists from disturbing Horn at his siege of *Bensfeld*, as by and by wee shall tell you. On Thursday, September 6. did Count *Henry of Nassau Dillingberg*, come and joyne his Regiment, unto the Swedish Armie. Friday, the 7. of September, being the *Anniversarie* day of the famous victorie of *Leipsic*, was a day of devotion both in the Camp and citie: to the celebrating whereof, the Lord-Marshall was himselfe gone into his leaguer. There were *Prayers* added unto the *Thanksgiving*, for the prospering of the designe intended, and that was the siege of *Bensfeld*: which by an Express, the same evening his Excellencie certified the *Strasburgers* of: and that he would the next morning, put himselfe upon his march, thitherward.

The place, is in the lower *Alsacia*, which there beginneth on the *Weisserne* bancke of the river *Ill*: which having run 12 or 14 English miles further, through *Strasburg*, drops presently into the *Rhine*. East of the towne, (which is but a very small one) is the river. The place of the towne, is by a morasse: the river there, branching out, into at least 20 small Illets. Before it, is there a hillie and a woodie countrey. The Citie of *Strasburg*, had some pretences to it; unto which, it now was a troublesome neighbour: that, holding for Prince *Rodolfe William Bishop of Strasburg*, second sonne

The towne described.

sonne unto his Imperiall Majestic. Tis a Royall Fortification and a Regular : in forme of a spurre or Mullet, 5 cornered. The walls, strongly beset with towers and rundells : the Bullwarks, thick and high : with two wett ditches about them ; and on the East side, a little Suburb, washed by the river. All this, was very strongly pallisadoed, with some outworks to it.

The Rintegrawt
is of this Fa-
mily of Salm.

A worck it was said to be, of well neere 20 years Fortification Count *Herman Adolph* Count of *Salm Rifferscher*, *Statholder* or *Gouvernoour* of the *Bishoprike of Strazburg* (in which *Benfeli* standeth) and *Deane* of the same *Strazburg*: had excellently well provided it, of victualls and ammuni-
on: some peeces of full Canon, had they upon their Bull-
warcks; which shot 48 pound bullet. Their garrison, was about 800 Foot, and 140 horse: some of their Foot, being sturdie Boores, which there learned to bee soldiers. Their Governor was one *Colonell Bulach*, a discreet Gentleman, and a very resolute Commander.

Saturday September the eight, did his Excellencie *Gustavus Horn* advance thitherward. That very night, did his vanguard take in some Mills, with the Hospitall or Cloister on the North side of the river (which betwixt that and the towne, had many great Ilets and branches) cutting off, and beating in, some of these townsmen, that had undertaken the guard of them. Munday Septeunber the tenth, beganne *Horn* to plant his Ordnance, which I heare to bee 3 whole Canons, 4 halfe Canons, 12 fielding pieces, and 4 mortars. And now was he engaged upon a hard peece of service, and all eyes were fixt upon the issue of it. *Horns* head Quarter, was upon the westerne bancke of the river, and North side of the towne: and on that side he begunne his Approaches. His trenches went round from North to South. The defendants (twas knowne) were resolved to dispute it, and the *Swedes* had here pitcht themselves upon their hopes, for the command of the whole *Bishopricke of Strazburg*, and for the Lordship of all the neighbour *Alyatia*. The *Straburgers* were

The siege laid.

were deeply interessed in the successe of the Action; for besides that *Benselt* was the great hinderer of their traffick; they, by their giving passage unto *Gustavus Horn*, had committed such an act of enmitie against the Emperor, as they must now doe like a sick man; not take so weake a *Dos* of *Physicke*, as should be but able to stir the humors; but a potion strong enough to expell them. If *Horn* prevailed not before *Benselt*, the weight of the warres would, certainly, fall heavie on their side. *Horn*, therefore, knew well enough, that all their Magazins and their Armories, were at his devotion. Thus was he backt.

Offa, and the Count of *Salm*, then resident in *Zabern* (a good soldier) with *Mesternich* of *Heidleberg*; had all engaged their words, that *Bulach* should be relieved: and to cut out *Horn* so much worke, otherwhere, by their diversions; that he should never be able to lie long before *Benselt*. And thus was the towne backt: so that it was a siege of the greatest expectation (though not of so much noise) next unto that of *Maastrichts*; that hath beene in these latter troubles. The quiet of the *Palatinat*, the securitie and profit of the *Strasburgers*, and the Conquest of *Alsatia*; much depended upon *Benselt*.

The importancie of the place.

By September the twelfth, were the *Swediſſe* masters of the *Toll-Sconce* on the East side of the town, a good distance from it, and upon the third branch of the river. This sconce had the command of the Bridges over the river *Ill*: and over the Causey which led thence into the Suburb. By the taking of this, was the river it felfe also at their devotion. By the thirteenth, were they Approached within 30 Rodd of the outermost *Graff*: and under the command of the enemies Canon. *Horns* lines first brake ground, midway betwixt his owne Head quarter and the towne; which he led crackling in and out, gaining still neerer and neerer upon the towne. They were runne floaping along the north side of the town and so ended right against a *Bullwarke*, on the very Welt of it. All along this Trench, were his *Batteries, Blinds, Traverses*:

verses : and Redoubts to watch , and save the Approaches ,
and out of this , was beganne another lesser line , from a great
batterie .

This lesser and neerer Approach , was runne all along the Northwesteme side of the towne , in a halfe Circle , just at the towne ditch directed it : of which it was within a few paces . At the westerly end of this lesser Approach , was the Ditch cut and drained : and there was the Gallerie led over : of which we shall in its time , tell you . Horn beginning his Approaches , hath his Pyoners beaten out , now and then , by the townsmens fallies , who flung the earth in again into the Trenches . And this was done often , for , certainly the place was very well defended . Ever as Horn brought his Lines nearer , hee also brought forward his Batteries . Straßburg sent him supplies of Canon , Granadoes , Fire-works , and Ammunition , (and victuals too) as much as he desired : so that hee was nothing sparing of his lead nor gunpowder . The most of those buildings which a Canonier could have but a cleere view of , from off his Batterie , he beat about the townsmens eares : steeples , towers and rundells , as well as houses . For the furie of the great and small shott , and the terror of the Fire-works (which had twice alreadie , set fire upon some Courts of Guard , Centry-houses and stables , next unto the rampiers :) was no man (without extreme hazard) able to appeare upon the Bullwark : so that though the towne kept some peeces of Canon yet undismounted upon their wall , yet hardly durst a Canonier tarry by them , unlesse when the rampier were to bee assaulted . A triall of this , was made September 13 , when as 30 Swedish Horsemen made a dare , close up to the very brink of the outermost moate , and came off againe without danger .

Horn by the middle of the moneth , having gotten forward , as far as the outermost wet-moate , had a designe for the cutting of that , and to derive the water out of it into the river . To hinder that , doe the besieged issue through a fally-

fifty-port, and resolutely beat off the Boores that were
Horn spade men, and the soldiers that defended them. Yet
was that service by degrees performed, and so much of the
water drained out, as lay higher then the river. The rest
was partly filled up, where needfull: for that *Horn* being
now gotten to the suburb (which the townsmen partly had
demolished, and *Horns* Fireworkes consumed) made use of
the rubbish for filling up the moate, & of the timberwork,
for the making and bringing over his Gallerie. September
26 in the night, was the *Gallerie* begunne to be put over the
moate: upon which, though the besieged sallyed, yet were
they perswaded in againe, & the *Gallerie* after a while per-
fected. These militarie *Galleries*, are in the manner of
Bridges: made upon Piles fastned into the ground & joyses
laid crosse over them and plancks over all, like a *Bridgework*.
Now were his men lodged in this flighted suburb, which
was some shelter to them: and hence, was every *Orlope* or
peeping hole of the wall so flanckerd with their Firelocks,
that hardly could a head appeare out of the towne, or over
a work, but he was dasht in the teeth with a bullet. *Horns*
next worke, was to make up a great *Blynd*, for the shelter
of his Enginiers and labourers: who were now working
towards the second Graffe, close under the Bullwarke. Sep-
tember 29, did the *Strasburgers* furnish him with 4 more
Canon, for a new Batterie upon his Approaches: so that un-
der the favour of these volleys, did hee in a short time in
crooked *Lines*, advance as farre as that second Graffe: the
bancks wherof they now fall to cutting. Doe the *Bensel-
ders* what they can, by their sallyes: yet, they within a few
dayes, lost halfe the water out of that moate too: the *Swe-
des* were well forward with their second *Gallerie*, and lod-
ged on another side within a few paces of their Foretowne.
This was the worke of the first moneth: by which time
the *Swedes* were become Masters of the River, the Tol-
skonne, the Bridge, both the Moats, the Suburbs, and finally
of all without the walls and ports of the very citie.

The first moat
wonne.

The second
moate wonne.

Divers assaults
repulsed.

Munday October the eight , the *Swedes* thinking to make a shorne worcke of it : offered a furious assault upon the Fore-citie : but being not able to carrie it by Scaladoe, they were-faine, with some losse, to give it over. And yet this attempt was once or twice renewed in the weeke following : and the besieged kept wakynge by the expectation of an Alarme, every day. The Saturday after, being the thirteenth of October , the besieged , towards evening , desired a parlee , that they might have a truce granted for a few dayes ; requestinge a safe-conduct for their Drumme , to be sent unto the Generall. Hee not liking the propositions ; no sooner was the Drumme received into the towne againe : but he commanded a rouzing volley to bee sent in after him : to signifie unto the besieged, that no other cessation of Armes was to be expected ; but till his Canoniers could lade their peeces againe, when they had discharged them.

The Count of *Salm* that was Governor for the Emperors sonne , of his Bishoprick of *Straßburg* , to which this *Bensfelt* belongeth ; wrote his letters unto the French Ambassador at *Straßburg* , to request his mediation for a truce for *Bensfelt*. The colour for his request was , that the truce might last till the French Kings pleasure might bee knowne, upon what termes hee would take the Bishoprike into his protection. But neither would this be granted : and the de nyall was sent to *Zabern* , 9 or 10 miles from *Straßburg*, where *Salm* resided.

The Rhine-
grave blocks
up Schlettstat.

Presently after the leaguer was first laid, and the Quarters entrenched : had the Rhinegrave beene sent out with the most of the Horse , to block up *Schlettstat* ; a very strong towne upon the same river of *Ill* , some 8 or 9 English miles to the Southwest of *Bensfelt*. His Partees flew up and down the countrey , to spoile the Imperialists mustering places ; to observe the motions of the enemie : and to prevent their sudden disturbing of the leaguer. Hee had sent word, a little before this , unto the Felt-Marshall ; of the Count of *Salm* assembling of some good forces together , on that side the Countrey

Country : and that they had given it out, how they would shortly give the *Swedish* a *Camisado* in their owne trenches : being very confident of beating up a quarter, and of thrusting in some supplies into the besieged. *Horn* upon newes hereof, had sent into the *Palatinate* and to the *Straburgers*; that they should lighten their garrisons (as many as they could spare) & send the forces to his leaguer , with all speed possible. Upon this , did the Count of *Salms* , and the Colonell *Smidberger* come into the Camp , with their Regiments.

Munday October 15, towards evening ; Count *Salm* first shewed himselfe , within a little of the Trenches : with ^{An offer to} relieve the some 4000 Boores , 2000 soildiers , and 600 Horse , in his town. Armie. Whilst *Horn* sent out some good troops to entertaine and stave them off ; the besieged fall also out , upon a worke of the *Swedish*. But the Count of *Salms* Boores, plainly, came not on with that bravery that soldiers would have done , nor did they once touch upon any one of *Horns* Quarters : so that the besieged perceiving their Aides to preesse no neerer, they fall off againe , and withdraw themselves into their Citie. *Salms* his men also , after some lighter skirmishes , retire themselves into the Dorps towards *Schleßstat* ; on which next morning they set fire at parting. That day, out went the *Rhinegrave Otto Lodowick*, with a Partee of 500 Dragooneers, 500 Horse, and 1000 commanded muskettiers ; to trie what metall they were made of. Hee lighting on them by the flame and smoake , which they made in the Country ; kills 300 of them as they were scattered up and downe , and takes about 150 prisoners : whereupon the most of the rest retired unto *Molsheim* on the river *Brunsch*, 10 miles North of *Benfelt* : which was the appointed Rendez-vous for them.

The defeate of these succors, and the hopes of them:made is put by. his Excellencies and the *Rhinegraves Healths* , to be heartily remembred at *Straburg* ; for that now they esteemed *Benfelt* as good as taken. But the Count of *Salm* laid not so : for

The King of
Bohemia comes
to Frankfort.

for he still gave it out, that he but recold to come on againe with more furie, & that the next time he would bring 10000 men with him: yea, that hee would either leave his bones before Benfels, or relieve it. The garrisons of Heidleberg, Frankendale and Vadenheim, twas given out, should make diversions: but that threat was quickly taken off, by the comming of the King of Bohemia unto Frankford: who though hee levyed no forces, yet did hee much amuse the neighbourhood, with the beliefe of his purpose to doe so. As for those of Frankendale, the Benfelders hopes of their aide was defeated, by his Majestie of Bohemiaes entring into a Treatie with them. For all this, the Count of Salm divulged it, that all the Imperiall garrisons of Brisach, Kenzingen, Endingen, Molsprin, Darchstein, Schirmeck, Schleisflat & Colmar, even all the power they could make, they would rallie together into one Armie, and put it to such a push, as either to hazzard all their townes, or relieve Benfels. These hopes found he meanes to convey into the town; which Bulach had art enough by great circumstances to make probable: and upon hope of that, to keepe his men in courage & expectation. The Count of Salm indeed, after this, shewed himselfe in the field now and then, but could never bring his 10000 men together: Commissary Offa had now need of men about the Lake of Constantz, so that he could spare him no forces to succor Benfels.

This was Offa put unto, by the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had purposely made this diversion upon those parts, that Horn might have the lese disturbance before Benfels. There had the Wirtembergers gotten the townsmen of Cell, to take in a garrison from them: which they had before denied unto Offa. This was a towne of very great importance, Richenau Abby upon the Lake, they had by force, taken, for they were 10000 men, now in the field: and Lindau and Bregenz both, were sorely afraid of them.

Neerer home, did the Rhinegraves troopes skowre the coast up and downe, daily: making their Cavalcadoes sometimes

The Wirtembergers take
townes about
the Lake of
Constanzt.

times to the very gates of Zabern it selfe , one way ; and otherwaife , as farre along the Rhines side as Erisach ; there affronting the Imperiall Quarters : who before Brisach had a few forces . Those of Erisach againe , would now and then put into the field : The Count of Salm , also , would send out some Partees ; but the Rhinegrave put so betweene them , and so spoiled their Mustering places : that they could never bring their Armie together , according as they had pro-mised .

The besieged , by this time , wanting forage for their horses ; they about October 20 , turne 100 horses out of their port among the Swedish : and even yet they held it out resolu-
tely . Their hope now was , that the raines at this time of the
yeare , would fill the Ditches & Mines up againe , which
Horn was now a working : but that hope failed them . His
Galleries being now perfected ; he a few dayes after , causes
the enemies walls to be attempted , if but to see what coun-
tenance the besieged still carryed . But those hee found so
good , that his men were beaten off againe : one of his soul-
diers onely having snatcht down an Ensigne from the Ram-
pier , in despight of all the small shot of the defendants , pur-
posely aimed upon him . By this time , was *Gustavus Horns*
Armie more increased , then when hee first sate downe be-
fore Benfold : and that especially and of late , by the com-
ming of Battalio a French Colonell , with 600 men : which
he hoped to make up a Regiment compleat , out of those
forces which his King had a little before casheired in Lor-
raine .

By the 25 , had Horn sapt himselfe , close unto the Ram-
pier : and by the 26 , (notwithstanding all Countermining)
had hee brought his mine under it ; put in his powder , and
made it readie to play . The 27 , he prepared all things ready
to storme into the Breach , which upon the springing of
the mine he infallibly expected . That morning , did Gover-
nor Bulach send out a Trupet with open letters in his hand ;
which he desired leave of the Felt-Marshall to carrie to the

They beat off
an assault .

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

Governor of the Bishopricke of *Straßburg*, then at *Zabern*: to discover the weake estate of the towne to him, and to desire him to propound the conditions for his rending: requesting a 3 dayes truce in the meane time, till the returme of the messenger. But this meslage was by *Gustavus Horn*, controlled; and the Trumpet sent backe againe. Towards night, doe the *Swedes* resolve upon the firing of their mine: which the besieged perceiving, resolutely fall out upon it, and fight with them at the mines mouth, all that afternoon, the whole night following, and the next day till 2 a clock after dinner. *Horn* continually relieved his men, with new seconds: yea his Dragoones and Horsemen too, were on foot brought on, still to pursue the storming. His men were very earnest with him, that he would accept of no composition; but that they might have leave to take it by forte; and that their reward for all their hardship before it, might bee the pillage of it.

But *Bulach* having both done and suffered, as much as might bee expected from a man in his place; perceiving his men to bee sorely harassed and over-watched; his enemies forces encreased; they backed by *Straßburg*; and himselfe not likely to bee relieved from *Zabern*; that the mine was ready to spring, and the besieged hasty to fall into the firt breach: is contented that some of his people had alreadie hanged out a white Ensigne, in signe of parlie; himselfe sending out to require hostages. This was done in the afternoone of *Simon and Iudes* day, October 28: whereupon the next day, both parties agreed upon these thirteene conditions.

benfelt yielded,
and the condi-

1. That the Govermour, with all the Captaines, Officers, and common soldiers, should depart freely: going out with Colours flying, drummes beating, matches lighted, bullets in the mouth, and with full Armes. And that they should carry all their families with them, with horses and wagons sufficient, for the carrying away of their baggage; that they should have 2 field peeces, and one wagons loading of powder,

der , bulletts and matches . That the Governor , moreover , should with his wife , children , cosins , sisters , and servants with their baggage , be convoyed into Zabern ; and the other Captaines and soldiers , to Brisach : pledges being given on both sides , according to the custome .

2. That the Ecclesiasticks and Religions persons , and especially those that lived in Achle ; should have free exercise of religion , as heretofore they have had : and leave to mainaine them selves upon Almes ; and as for those that were resolved to go otherwhere , they should have free leave to go : together with their goods and souldiers for the guard of them .

3. That the Citizens also should have free exercise of the Romane Catholick Religion .

4. Those that were Officers of the Bishoprick , should have leave of departing , likewise , with their goods and families : 2 wagons with their horses , being allowed them : they first of all delivering unto certaine deputies appointed in the King of Swedens name ; their *Coucher-books* & other Records concerning the estate of the Bishoprick : together with a true account of all things hitherto deposited .

5. The sick and wounded , which were not now able to march out with the rest ; should have leave to tarry in the towne , till they were recovered : after which , they should have Passe , to goe whither they desired .

6. That the Governor , Captaines , Officers , Soldiers and Citizens , that had any lands within the Bishoprick ; should have libertie among the rest who had yeelded themselves into the King of Swedens protection : either to inhabite and make the best of them , or to sell them , as they pleased .

7. That the Governor , now presently after the rendring , should have a Passe from *Gustavus Horn* ; for the sending of an Officer with his letters , unto the Governor Generall of the Bishoprick , to certifie him of the proceedings .

8. That none of the priviledges , freedomes , jurisdictions ,

2^dnd Rights of City or Citizens ; should be diminished ; nor should any ransomes bee exacted of them : but that they should have a protection rather , against any injurie that might bee done by the garrison , which was to be put upon them : and that right and justice might indifferently be administered to every man.

9. That all and singular the Citizens now within the towne , should have leave either to sell their goods presently , or within a certaine time , when they could : after which they might freely depart , and take Passes to that purpose.

10. That the Citizens having houses either in the towne or Countrey , should have leave to till their lands ; and enjoy their stocks , horses, cattell , and other goods serving to that purpose , without ransome.

11. That the prisoners on both sides , should bee set free without ransome.

12. That all militarie ammunition , victualls , and other things , not particularly belonging unto the Governor , Officers, Soldiers, nor Citizens ; should without fraud be delivered unto such persons , as should be appointed by the Felt-Marshall.

13. That the yeelding of the towne , should be at eight a clock the next morning ; and of the suburbs , before evening. And if the Governor by reason of some hinderance , could not goe in the morning ; he should then have leave to tarry with his familie in his owne house , till the next morning : and the soldiers , in the Suburbs.

Upon these Articles , Tuesday October 30, was the town delivered : the Governor marching out with 400 Foot, and 120 Horsemen . One of his Foot-Captaines and whole company , turned soldiers to the *Swedish*. The towne thus conquered , was afterwards entrusted over unto those of *Strasburg* : by which courtesy , they were not a little strengthened ; this strong little towne , having shrewdly heretofore punished them.

The town be-
ing made over
to the Strasbur-
gov_s,

It

It pleased his Highnesse the Duke of *Lorraine*, about the end of the next moneth, to lay some claime unto this towne of *Benselt*, as also unto *Dachstein*, (which the *Swedes* had by that time taken) and to *Zabern*. His Commissioners met with *Gustavus Horns*, at *Marienkirch*. His plea was , that he had lent certaine monyes upon them , and that they had therupon beeene consigned over to him , for securitie. Wherfore hee in friendly manner requested , that *Benselt* might now bee returned over to him. The *Swedish* Commissioners gave good words : but as for the towne , they could say nothing to it , till a *Diете* might be convoked in the Empire. In the meane time , they desired the Duke to rest assured , that if he neither supplied the Emperor with Aides nor Provisions ; the *Swedes* would no way bee injurious unto his Highnesse lands , or subjects, but help to defend them rather: should the Emperor, upon pretence of his Highnesses being friend to the *Swedish* partie , offer to assaile them.

is claimed by
the Duke of
Lorraine,

which is denied
him.

Benselt thus taken , his Excellencie the *Swedish* Felt-Marshall sent the *Rhinegrave* to take in *Marckelsheim*; a towne hard by , defended but by one company of Imperialists. The *Rhinegrave* had but a weake Partee as yet with him : the cause , that his summons were gybed at. The Imperialists told him , he was no customer for them : nor had hee companions enow , to make them afraid of him. Tis ill jesting with edge tooles. The *Rhinegrave* , hereupon , sending to *Benselt* with all speed for some field peeces: he the same day, made his entrance into the towne, by force and battery. Here found he but 20 Horsemen , and thole he tooke prisoners : the rest of them that belonged to the garrison , were gone out that morning to convoy in a Foot company , which was comming from *Colmar* to reenforce thole of *Marckelshain*. These the *Rhinegrave* having notice of , way-layes , meets withall , and defeats : bringing the Captaine of the Foot-Companie , his Leiftenant , and all his men , prisoners with him.

The Rhine-
grave takes
Marckelshain.

Other *Swedish* Partees severally sent abroad , doe at the

same time take in all the best of those small Strengths , that lie along the river of *Ill* towards *Schlesstat*-ward or a little beyond it : about 2 or 3 English miles from the river. These townes were, *Eppisch*, *Vpper Bercken*, *Dambach* and *Kestenholtz*; together with *Gemar* upon the *Ill*, a little beyond *Schlesstat*: so that *Schlesstat* became hereby blocked.

But the chiefeſt of the Armie, and *Gustavus Horn* with it, advances towards *Molsheim*: a good towne upon the river *Brusch*, about 10 English miles West of *Straſburg*; and little above that distance North of *Benfelt*. Horn cauſes *Muzig* to bee firſt taken, a pretty towne one English mile West of *Molsheim*, belonging to one *Lansberg* a private Gentleman, that had ſerved the Bishop. *Molsheim*, the fourth of our November Horn likewiſe in veſteth. The towne not able to reſift, begins to treate within 2 dayes: & the very ſixth of November, (that fatal ſixth of November, the day that the King of Sweden was flaine upon) receives in 3 troopes of Swedish Horſe, with ſome Foot-Companies for a garrison. This ſecured *Straſburg* on that ſide.

Thence turns our Felt-Marſhall back unto *Schlesstat*: and that wee now relate unto you. For though our purpoſe was, to heave led on our *Storie* no further then the Kings deaſt; yet for that there wants but one moneths worke, for the taking of 2 or 3 townes more, in this *Alsacia*, and conſequently, of *Gustavus Horns* marching up thence, into *Bavaria*: we chofe rather to transgrefſe upon your patien-ces, after the *Glasses* being out, then to leaue the *Story* of these parts, unperfected.

This *Schlesstat* is a very strong Imperiall towne, (and the Strongeft, next to *Benfelt*) upon the river of *Ill*; about nine English miles to the Southealt of *Benfelt*. There is a Colledge of *Iefuites* in it; and those, famous (or rather infamous) for the Studie of *Magick* or the *Black Art*: which ſome ex-cause, by the name of *Indicall Astrologie*. I feigne nothing upon them: for ſo much was at *Straſburg* by a novice of theirs, publickely upon his execution day (ſince *Christmas* laſt)

*Horn takes
Muzig, and
Molsheim.*

*Horn turns
towards Schleſtat.*

*The Iefuites
found to bee
Conjurers and
Poſſoners.*

last) confessed. This yong fellow being native of Strasburg was brought up by the *Iesuites* of Schleßstat; and by them employed, for the poysoning of some chiefe men of Strasburg, for which he was executed. He confessed, that all the *Iesuites* of the *Colledge*, (excepting two) were *Magicians*; and a many of them *Poysoners*. And, indeed, both these *Arts Diabolicall*, doe our *Cunning men and women*, in these latter dayes practise together: that if by one of them, they shall foretell, the *being in love, sicknesse or death*, of any that requires their counsell; they may by the *Figgs, and Philters* and *Potions* of their other Art, endanger to make good their prediction. Nor are these feates onely practised by the *Iesuites*, in their *Colledges of Schleßstat*; but in other places too, as the world beleeveth. These *Arts*, and *lying*, confute stronglier, then all their *Schoole Divinitie*. Murder will out; but these, I leave till their discoveries.

This *Schleßstat*, though as strong as the Divell could make it; was not able a moneth together to resist the Armes of Justice, and a good cause, that were now brought against it. Leiftenant Colonell *Breitenbach* defended it: who had two troopes of Horse and 600 Muskettiers of Colonell *Metternichs* Regiment; which we heretofore told you to have come from out of *Cullens* countrey, into the *Strasburgers* Jurisdiction. I purposely omit to relate the order of the siege laying, the maner of the approches, or the sallyes of the besieged: minding to tell you of what strength the Imperialists were still in these parts, and what endeavours they now made, to deliver this and *Colmar*, which *Gustavus Horn* caused at the same time to bee blocked that he fete downe to *Schleßstat*.

Schleßstat be-sieged.

By this time was *Monte-Cuculi* gone through *Schwabaland* into *Bavaria*: and *Commissarie Ossa* had his hands full about the *Lake of Constantz*; so that the Generallship in these parts of *Alsatia*, was againe made over to Marquesse *William of Baden*: and hee now the second time againe appeared, after the spoiling of his countrey. The Marquesse troops

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

troopes, were commanded by Major *Ascanio*; and sent to lie at *Ensisheim*, a towne upon the riyer *Ill*, 12 English miles South of *Colmar*, where the *Chamber and Judgement seat* is, for the *Marcheravate* of the *Vpper Alsacia*. Some few Imperialists, lay also encamped at *Brisach* upon the Easterne bancke of the river *Rhine*, due East of *Colmar* and 12 miles from it. To these, were some Foot-Companies to be conjoyned, out of *Lorraine*; whose levying for the Emperors service, the Duke had there given way unto. To take on these *Lorrainers*, doe 12 Cornets of the *Brisachers Horse*, upon the sixteenth of November passe over their Bridge to the *Westward*; to meet the other, comming out of their owne Countrey. *Ascanios* men, were by that time come from *Ensisheim* unto *H. Crux* a towne within 5 English miles of *Colmar*. And these were about 18 Cornets more, (besides Foot:) all resolved to affront *Horns* Quarters, and to attempt the relieving, at least of *Colmar*. The *Rhinegrave Otto Lodowick*, having notice of the *Brisachers* being abroade; hee with 3 Regiments flyes in upon the necks of them: kills, takes, and disperses them; scarce 100 of them recovering with safetey unto *Brisach*. Seaven Ensignes tooke he from them: and that he might pursue the victorie, before *Ascanios* men shold have notice of his being so nere, he falls upon his Quarters about *Heilingen Crux* aforesaid. These taking the route, at the first charge; fled with all speed towards *Ensisheim*. Being come to *Wittenen* hard by *Ensisheim*; they beganne there to unbridle and disperse, thinking themselves there, in a good place of securtie. But the *Rhinegrave* having pursued them upon the spurre; hembd them in upon the sudden, set fire upon the 4 corners of the towne, to fire and smoake out the Imperialists. Of these, as they came without order, & at severall places running out; were 300 knockt downe upon the place: and among them, 2 Barons of *Riffenberg*, Leiftenant Colonell *Roben*; a Sergeant-Major, 6 Horse Captaines, with diverse Cornets, and under Officers. Three hundred, (the most of them Dragoo-
ners)

The Imperia-
lists gathering
together to
relieve Schlett-
fiel.

ners) being on the outside of the towne, had, at first, flung downe their Armes, and desired to be taken into the Rhine-graves service. *Ascanio* being at *Ensisheim*, escaped with 3 *grave*.
Comets of Horse, (the remainder of 1200) away to Marquess *William*: who then lying at *Tann*; departed presently upon it towards *Burgundie*: Thus lost he all his countrey, fortunes and reputation in the Emperors service; which hee had before received from his favour.

Horn lying close to his siege of *Schleissheim* all this time, and a great part of the towne next the walls, being alreadie burnt and spoiled with his Fireworkes and Granadoes: Governor *Breitenbach* was upon the second of December, enforced to treat a composition. The first demand made by *Gustavus Horn* was, that the townsmen should pay him 20000 Dollars: and the many *Jewes* there, a summe by the Poll proportionable; each *Jew* asmuch as 2 *Christians*. These *Jewes*, are many there, and have a free *Synagogue* to blasphem the *Christ* in: and these, the *Isisites* for filthy lucre sake, endure well enough; but a *Protestant* they worse hate, then the Devil they Conjure by. The money was paid December the fifth, the garrison being 2 dayes before, departed upon these Articles.

1. The Imperiall garrison both Horse and Foot, shall December the third, depart freely, with flying Ensignes, Drummes beating, trumpets sounding, matches lighted, bullet in the mouth, 2 field peeces, one wagon of match and bullet, together with their baggage and sick people: all to bee convoyed to *Brisach*; sufficient hostages being left in the towne, for the safe retурne of the *Swedish Convoy*.

2. Such sick and wounded soldiers as were not able presently to travel, should be left in the towne Hospital: who if ever they recovered, should not bee compelled to serve the *Swedish* partie; but upon their desire, should have the Felt-Marshall or Governors Passe, to retурne back to their owne Regiments.

3. All spoiles and bootie gotten in the time of this siege;

Kk

whether

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

whether Horses or other prises, shall remaine still unto the takers : but as for the prisoners, a reasonable exchange or ransome, shall end the difference.

For the safeties of the Citizens , were these following Articles agreed upon.

1. No kinde of revenge shall be taken upon the townsmen, for any defence made by them during the time of this siege : but they , together with the Ecclesiastical persons: shall still be permitted the free use of the Romane Catholick Religion. All Cloisters, likewise, Castles and Jurisdicitions heretofore possessed by the townsmen ; shall still remaine to them. Nor shall any Citizen or Inhabitant , of what condition soever he be , who hath either bee[n]c an Imperiall Officer , addisited himselfe to the warres , or done any speciaall peece of service in defence of the towne , suffer any thing, either in life or fortunes , now nor hereafter , for it.

2. Neither King nor Kingdome of Sweden shall assume more authoritie to themselves over the towne , then heretofore the Romane Emperors or their Deputies , have done usually : and therefore shall all the immunitiess, priviledges, and Customes of the Citie , and in particular , also, the town of Kinzen with its Castle and Jurisdiction , bee left free to them.

3. If any of the Citizens , Officers , Servants , or Inhabitants , Spirituall or Temporall , shall bee desirous to depart the Citie, either now or hereafter : he shall at any time have free leave so to doe , and either to carry away his goods with him , or otherwise to dispose of them.

4. The Burgers shall not be over-burthened with Billeting or enquartering of soldiers : only shall the garrison have their competent allowance made them ; for which , the soldiers shall be bound to keepe good discipline , and accept of such lodging as the Magistrates shall appoint them.

Dated Decemb. ²₁₂ 1632. and confirmed by *Gustavus Horn*, and the Councill of war.
A day

A day or two after this, was the Swedish Leiferenant Remminger with a Partee of 70 Horse, set over the Rhine at the dorp of Schona, which hath a Castle to it : 9 or 10 English miles East of Schlesstat. Early in the next morning, was hee followed by Zilhart, with more Horses and Dragooneers. These two, upon Saturday December the eight, steale suddenly upon the good towne of Endingen, about a league from the Rhine side, to the Eastward. Here was the Imperiall Colonel Croneck, with 5 troopes of Horse enquaerted : who was himselfe in the very beginning of the fight shot dead upon the place, above 100 of his men slaine, and all the rest dispersed, Croneck had a designe, to have surprised the Swedish Colonell Einhausen and his Regiment, whose Post was neere the Rhine, not farre from Endingen. It was a mistie morning, when this deafeate happened, under favour of which gloominess, the Imperialists made the better shift to escape Zilhart, who had the chace of them. Cronecks dead body, was presented to Gustavus Horn : who sent it into Schlesstat Church, to bee interred. Endingen towne, did hereupon become Swedish : who having that footing on that Easterne side of the Rhine, the Imperialists, that till then had kept a kinde of Field-leaguer, without the walls of Brisach, (but 8 English miles South of Endingen) break up their Quarters prelently upon it, and retire themselves into the citie.

Presently upon this, does Gustavus Horn take in Horburg, a pretty towne upon the river Ill, with a bridge at it. Two English miles East of Colmar, by the taking whereof, was this Colmar the more streightned.

All this time, that is, ever since the beginning of November, had this Imperiall towne of Colmar, bee also blocked up : which since the taking of Schlesstat, had bee more pressed. The place of it, is upon the small river Lanch, (which a little from thence falleth into the Ill) about 13 English miles to the South of Schlesstat. The Imperiall Governor being resolved to hold the place, and the Citizens ged-

The Dutch Re-
lation calls
him Leiferenant
Generall and
Gallobelgicus,
but a captaine.

5 Imperiall
Cornets de-
feated :

and the towne
of Endingen ta-
ken.

Gustavus Horns Proceedings.

perceiving him not able to doe it; there falleth out a difference upon it, betwixt the Burgers and the soldierie: The townsmen feared, that by the Gouvernours obstinacie, their City would be taken by assault: and then shold their houses be plundered or worse served: and therfore preesse the Gouvernour to a Parlee. Hee refusing; the citizens getting all their Billmen at once together; they just at dinner time, on Sunday December the ninth, seale upon the Gouvernour with his Leiftenant, & imprison them: kill many of his soldiers that resisted them; and sent word with all speed unto *Gustavus Horn*, to come and take their citie. This made their condicions to be the better, and these they were.

By this you
see that these
townes of
Schleissach and
Colmar, did not
as yet know
of the death of
the King of
Sweden.

1. His Majestie of Sweden is contented to suffer the city of *Colmar*, still to remaine as a *Romish Catholike* citie: and in the enjoyment of the same her priviledges, Immunitiess, and rights, (aswell the *Spiritualty* as the *Temporaltie*) which they had in the yeare 1626: nor will his Majestie assume more authoritie over the same citie, then the *Romane Cæsars* have heretofore exercised.

2. The King will receive the Ecclesiastical persons (both men and women) into his protection: and leave them the free exercise of their owne Religion.

3. In the ordering of the Magistracie, the King shall please to have consideration, of the welfare and safetie of the townsmen; and that with respect unto the ancient customes: nor bringing in any new impositions.

4. The citie shall not be over-burthened with a greater garrison, then they shall well be able to maintaine: and the billeting of them shall bee at the discretion of the Magistrates, according to their former orders.

5. All that were willing still to remaine within the City, would his Majestie take the protection of: and whoever were minded to depart, should have free leave and libertie.

These Articles were dated at
Horbung, Decemb. 10. 1632.

and Signed
Gustavus Horn.
Munday

Munday morning December the tenth, was the Imperiall garrison turned out at the *Ports*, to shift for their own safeties, the townsmen not so much (you see) as putting in one Article, in favour of them. The same night, did *Gustavus Horn* personally enter into *Colmar*: without exacting any one halfe Dollar from the townsmen. The onely thing that he added unto the Articles, (which was by entreatie too) was, that the *Lutherans* might have their old Church again within the towne, with the free exercise of Religion, as heretofore they had enjoyed. This being granted, the Lord Commissary-Generall and *Resident*, *Clazer*, the Lord *John Noe*, and many principall Protestants, who now lived in exile for their conscience sake, at *Straßburg*; did the 14 of December returne backe againe, unto their owne houles in *Colmar*. That day, was there a *Sermon* of *Thanksgiving* preached there, by Doctor *John Smidt*, Superintendent of the *Augustane Confession*: who, with the rest, had the selfe-same day five yeares, beeene exiled out of *Colmar*.

His Excellencie *Gustavus Horn*, had in the meane time sent the Baron of *Croneck*, unto the Imperiall citie of *Hagenau*; 12 English miles to the North of *Strasburg*. His mes-sage to the Magistrates was, that if they thought good to submit themselves unto the *Swedish* protection, then should their ancient Estate, Priviledges, Rights, and Customes, be left entire unto them: but if not, all should be by force confiscated. The charges of the war, moreover, which he should be put unto for the conquering of them, should doubly bee exacted out of their purses. These offers being sent unto them, by a fortunate and a conquering Armie; became prevalent at the first motion, and were accepted of. Thus easily, was *Hagenau* made *Swedish*; having not so much as seene the countenance of a *Swede*, till they took some of them in, to be their garrison. And thus became the valiant and discreet *Gustavus Horn*, the great conqueror of the *Upper Alsacia*: and as much of the *Lower* too, as there needed.

And that wee may dispatch all the warres in these quarters

*Hagenau yeel-
ded to the
Swedish.*

ters neere the Rhine, at once ; by this time was the town of *Frankendale* in the *Palasinate* given over by the *Spaniards*. The King of *Bohemia* by treating with the town, had before his death, drawn the Governor *Wavelles* unto these conditions.

Frankendale
rendred.

1. That upon the eleventh of November, himselfe with all his souldiers should march out of *Frankendale*, in this equipage : That is to say, with Colours flying, Drummes beating, trumpets sounding, 3 Brasse peeces of ordnance, and such other ammunition, as themselves had brought in thither.

2. That the *Spaniards* should bee allowed 200 wagons, for the carrying away of their baggage.

3. That they should have a sufficient *Swedish* garrison, to convoy them unto the frontiers of *Luxemburg*.

Upon these termes, were the *Spaniards* by agreement with the King of *Bohemia*, to have left the towne upon the eleventh of November : but whereas they were to have received 7000 Rex Dollars for such ordnance and Ammunition, as they had heretofore brought into it, and now left behinde them : perchance upon the King of *Bohemia*'s sicknesse first, and death afterwards, they could not sooner receive their monyes. The Gentleman employed by the King, to treat with the *Spaniards*, was Colonell *Colb*, and they were put to it by the King of *Spaines* and the *Archduchesses* agreement with King *James* (now also pressed by King *Charles*) to deliver up the towne unto the Prince *Palatine*, so soone as he should be able to keepe and maintaine it. The *Spaniards* would never treat with the King of *Sweden* about it, but with the Prince *Palatines* Ministers only : so that now, the King of *Bohemia* being likely enough to hold it, they condicend to deliver it. And indeed they had Commission from *Brussels* for it : being the willinger now to part with it, so faire a way, for that they saw, *Gustavus Horn* (perchance) would not let them long have held it.

And yet this might they have done too, had they known that

that he should have beeene so loone sent for out of those Quarters, towards Bavaria. The Spaniards marching out, November 26, a garrison of countrey Boores is put into Frankndale, to keepe it for the Princes Palatines.

There being now no more townes (besides Vderheim and Heidleberg) in those parts of the Rbinish Circle; which were not Swedisb, the victorious Gustavus Horn received directions from Chancellor Oxienstern, to march up into Bavaria, and to joyne with the Generall Banier: the Bavarians being strong enough at that time, to fall a great way over the river Lech, even to the bancks of the Danubie in the Duke of Wirtembergs countrie. Leaving therefore a sufficient part of the Armie with the Rhinegrave, for keeping what was conquered in Alsacia: he the eighteenth of December passes the Rhine at Schona, to goe against the Bavarians about the Danubie. These, he quickly made to finde the way over their Lech againe, and since then, with the assistance of Duke Bernard and Banier: hath forced to the other side of Bavaria, to another part of the Danubie: even their old starting holes, of Ingolstar and of Regensburg. But this prosecution, I meane not to meddle with. Turne we back now to the Landgrave of Hesses victories.

Gustavus Horn
leaving part
of the Armie
with the
Rhinegrave;
marches up
into Bavaria,
with the resi-
due.



THE ACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSEN:

From the time of his receiving some aides from the King of Sweden, at Werben, untill his joyning with the said King againe, about the Ringau. A Storie of some 3. Moneths.



Hat our Reader may not mistake the chief person in the Action, tis Landgrave *William of Hessen-Cassel*, whom wee treate of: Son and heire unto that so famous and learned Prince, *Maurice of Hessen* who was yet alive, about Franckford: banisht from his owne Estate by the Emperor.

And a gallant Cavalier he had beeene in his time, though now well in yeares, and diseased. Hee was borne at *Cassel*, the chiefe Citie of the *Lower Hessen*; in the yeare 1572. His father was the *Landgrave William of Hessen*; surnamed the *Wise*. His Grandfather, was *Philip*: that brave spirited Prince; the great and constant Patrone and Defendor, of the Reformed Religion. His mother, was the Ladie *Sabina*, Duchesse of *Wirtenberg*. He was a Prince excellent in all kinds of learning; and skilled in many languages. Of a most admirable witt, and a very happie memory. A rarely learned *Philosopher*, and a most powerfull and perfwading *Orator*: and

and withall a neate and extemporary Poet: and what was beyond all these, a most undanted maintainer of his reformed Religion. As for the habit of his body; he was tall of stature; to which he had a Presence and Motion, of a Prince-ly and majesticall deportment. He died at *Eschweg*, a towne of the Lower *Hassia*, the 15. of March 1632: and the third of May following, he was with solemnity enterred at *Cassel*. And thus much is due unto the good *Landgrave*: whose happinesse and honour it was, amidst all the troubles which the Emperour put him to; to be the Father of so brave a sonne, as had the spirit and good fortune; to vindicate the honour and liberty of the Family. To him now turne wee.

The chiefe of the quarrell which the Emperour had to him, was for his Religion, and some Church-lands; The *Landgraves* complaint against the Emperor, againe; was for a Sentence (partly) by *Cesar* passed against him Anno 1623, by which, the towne and University of *Marpurg* in *Hessen* were adjudged away from him unto his Cozin the Landgrave *Lodowick of Hessen Darmstar*: a Lutherane by profession, and not so point blanck opposite unto the Catholicke party: and whose sonne hath beene a diligent instrument of the Emperours, to draw the King of Sweden to a Treaty, when he lay at *Menz*; and still works with his Father in Law the Elector of *Saxonia* to the same purpose. Of this Imperiall Sentence, the Elector of *Cullen*, (with him of *Saxonia*) had beene one of the Commissioners and Executioners: which made the *Landgrave* stomack him.

After that the businesse of *Germany* became (on the Catholicke side) a *Leaguer-warre*, and a *Quarrell of Religion*; then were the Protestants, on all hands laid at; by these *Leaguers*, as well as by the Emperour; every of them flying upon his next neighbour. Whereas, therefore, the *Landgrave* had chiefly beene borne downe by the Electors of *Menz* and *Cullen*, on the one side; and by the neare Abbies of *Fulda* and *Hirschfeld*, on the other; with these hee now begins to cry quittance: so soone (namely) as he findes himselfe strong enough,

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

enough, and that the King of *Sweden* had so potently already advanced into *Germany*.

To make way therefore for this *Landgraves* invading of others ; wee will first shew you, how hee cleared his owne Country at home : even then infested by the Imperialists.

About the beginning of September 1631 (as in our *First Part* wee have told you) the *Landgrave* returnes from the King of *Sweden*, with some aydes for the guard of his owne Country : and that gallant Cavalier Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*, was also at this time with him. The *Landgrave* being returned ; first, musters up an Armie of 4000 Foot : whereof 3600 were old souldiers ; the rest, traind Boores : and amongst them three Companies of hardy Forristiers and Huntsmen : of which last kinde of people, the Princes of these woodie Countries have a great multitude. To these 4000 Foot, were 1000 Horse, and two peeces of Ordnance joyned.

His quarrell seemed chiefly to be intended, against the Bishopricks and Abby-lands : which was as crose as might be unto the late Imperiall Decree of *Ratisbone*. And not so onely, but even agaist the Imperiall family also. The Emperours second sonne, Prince *Rodolph Willam*, was now Abbot of *Hirschfeld in Hessen-land*, next neighbour unto the *Landgraves* owne possessions. This young Prince, upon the resignation of his Uncle the Archduke *Leopold* : was made Priest, and had his Bishopricks of *Passaw* and *Strasburg* : in lieu of which, the Archduke was made Administrator of all the lands of the house of *Gratz* (of which this Emperor is) in *Alsatia*, *Tirole*, &c. This Princely young Priest, was in the yeare 1628, chosen Abbot of *Hirschfeld* afore-said ; and should have beene Archbishop of *Madenburg* also : whose misling of it, was the destruction of that goodly Citie. He had the Abby of *Hirschfeld*, with condition, that the *Landgraves* right unto the Citie ; and the Citizens freedome of religion, should be reserved. The present Abbot and Prince of *Fulda*, was one *John Bernard Schenck of Schweinberg* ; Elected

Elected Anno 1623. who by the Title of his Abby, is likewise one of the Princes of the Empire. To the towne of *Fulda*, hath the *Landgrave* some pretences also. This towne of *Hirschfeld*, and the *Abby-lands* about it, (being upon the river *Fulda*, in the very heart of *Hassia*) were since these warres, still guarded by some Imperiall forces; and military men (for the most part) being nothing dainty of committing *Actions of Trespasses*; had trenched, with the furthest, upon the *Landgraves* Royalties, and the Cities *priviledges*. This was another of the grievances. Towards this *Hirschfeld*, therefore, soone as he came from the King; the *Landgrave* converts his forces. The Generall *Fugger*, was already gone out of his Country: hasting to be one at the Battle *Hirschfeld*.
of *Leipsich*; by which meanes had the *Landgrave* the better opportunity, to bring the place to a composition. That done, hee about the middle of the moneth, advances Westward unto *Fritzlar*, with the 5000 men afore mentioned. This han some towne, though scituated upon the river *Eder* within the bounds of *Hassia*, close unto the Frontiers of *Waldeck*; yet belonged it unto the Archbishop Elector of *Menz*: and had bee often heretofore quarrelled at, by the former *Landgraves*. The garrison answers his summons, as if they held for *Jupiter*; in *thunder and lightning*, namely, such as they could make with their Ordnance. The *Landgrave* replies, as if he had Commission from *Vulcan*: for having gained to the gate by his Approaches, he claps to a Petard; and by that breach, his soldiers rush into the Citie. Then would the garrison have compounded: but souldiers (whose very vocation suffers them not to be too tender-hearted) use not (when victorious) to listen too suddenly to the word *Quarter*. The Execution being over, the towne is plundered: and doe the *Landgrave* what he could, with his drawn sword to beat off his owne people; yet for two houres together they flew upon the spoile. The *Landgrave* gave as good order, as the preuent fury would hearken too, for the sparing of the *Ecclesiasticks*: for all which, a many souldiers came Takes *Fritzlar*.

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

Masking abroad in the *Monks* and *Friers* *Cowles* and *Habits*; The rude *Forrestiers*, perchance, mistooke the Monks in their severall *Weedrs*, for some strange wilde beasts; such as they used to kill in the woods, and to goe marching home with the skinnes upon their shoulders. The *Hassians* shewed the more spleene against this towne, for that the Governor had scoffed heretofore at their *Landgrave*; had plundered two of his drops in the jurisdiction of *Girdersberg*: and disarmed the souldiers that defended them. For this reason also, was the Governor himselfe now carried prisoner into *Ziegenbaum*.

Allringers and
Fugger fallen in-
to *Hessen*.

Allringers and *Fugger* in the meane time, having upon their hearing of *Tilly* defeat, hastned back againe: were passed through *Duringen*, and now fallen into the Eastern parts of *Hessen*. They there first take in the towne of *Vach*; and *Fredeland Castle* next to that: both about the river *Werra*. Passing this river after this, they advance towards *Hirschfeld*, before mentioned, and take that also: but the *Landgrave* having by this dispatched about *Fritzlar*, sends Duke *Bernard Weymar* with some 18 troopes of horse, and 1000 Foot towards them; himselfe immediately following with the grosse of his Armie. The Imperiall Generalls quit *Hirschfeld* upon this newes; and notwithstanding that the Count of *Tilly* had ordered them to fall lustily npon the *Landgraves* forces: yet they now taking the Count of *Manfeld* unto them, (who lay with some forces in the neighbour jurisdiction of *Fulda*; for the guard of that goodly rich Abby) all together march Eastward out of the land of *Hessen*, towards *Ilenach*, and so to the *Wefer*; by which river *Tilly* now was comming to ioyne with them. The Count of *Sulz*, then about *Gelnhausen*, (or betwixt that and *Fulda*) comming also to peice in with them, marches back againe towards the *Lorrainers*: upon the newes, namely, of *Fuggers* retreat, and of the *Swedish* entrance into *Franconia*.

*Hassia cleared
of the Impe-
rialists.*

Thus became *Hassia* cleared, though but for a very little space.

space. The *Landgrave* presently upon it, defeating 4 troopes of the rambling *Crabbs* by the way ; comes and pitches his Armie by the river of *Fulda*, neare unto his owne Court and chiefest towne of *Cassel*. And time it was to doe it : seeing *Tilly* before the end of the moneth, was faine upon his Frontiers ; and *Arlinger* and *Fugger* returned towards the river *Fulda*, againe to spoile his Countrey, and to ioyn with *Tilly*. The story of which actions, wee leave to be read in the *Generall Tillyes Proceedings* : already printed in our *Second Part*.

Tilly being gone out of his Countrey, in the beginning of October ; the *Landgrave* with 8000 Foot, 10 troopes of Horse, and 14 Peeces of Ordnance (whereof 6 Peeces of Battery) sets forward againe to pursue his former purpose against the *Bishoprick*. October the seventh to *Munden* he The *Landgrave* takes comes, a Bishops See some 7 or 8 English miles to the north Munden. *Landgrave* where the river *Fulda* falleth into the *Werra*. Here had *Tilly* beeene lately, and there left some 600 men. Against this, the *Landgrave* casts up 2 Batteries : from whence he all that night thunders upon the *Tillians*. The garrison now out of hope to defend themselves, or to be relieved by others ; partly and yeeld. Their conditions were, to goe out with flying Ensignes, Bagge and Baggage, Full Armes, &c. And to be convoyed by 2 troopes of the *Hessens* Horse into *Gosseringen*, 12 English miles to the East of *Munden*.

Hence marches the *Landgrave* Northward, into the Bishoprick of *Paderborn* ; which is upon the West side of the goodly river of *Wefer*, and holden in *Commendam* by the Bishop of *Cullen*, who writes himselfe *Administrator* of it. Hereabouts, September 27 (old Style) had *Tilly* left the Count of *Gronsfels* and Colonell *Rinacher*, with a small Armie ; for the guard of this Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and of Advances into the rich Abby of *Corbey*, which lies close upon the Western *Paderborn* banck of the *Wefer*. Three of the formost of the *Landgraves* troopes, did Count *Gronsfels* men light upon ; and cut the throates of the most of them, carrying away their Ensignes.

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

Full of desire to revenge this, out goes Lieutenant *Pfaunck*, with two troopes of Horse: but thense staying to refresh themselves (or to doe worse perchance) in a small Dorp neere unto *Paderborn*; were also surprised by the *Gronfelders*, and cut in peeces like their fellowes.

The *Landgrave* himselfe was at first gone towards *Hoxter*, in the Jurisdiction of the Abbot of *Corbey*, which yeelds unto him: paying him 8000 Dollars for a Ransome. Thus doe other townes thereabouts. Thence advances he towards *Paderborn*, from which parts, *Gronfeld* and *Reinacher* (being too weake) were retired along the *Wefer* towards *Hamelen*. *Paderborn* Citie compounds with him, and gives him 50000 Dollars for its ransome. At *Nienhus* upon the river *Lippe*, some two English miles to the North of *Paderborn*; he takes downe the Elector of *Cullen Armes*, and causes the King of *Sweden*'s *Eschuschein* to be set up in the roome it. Some eight English miles to the South-west, he takes in *Solkort*: whence some of his troopes advance into the neighbour Countrey called *The Dukedom of Westphalia*, and take *Geseck*. Others, keeping still in *Paderborn Diocese*, and upon the South of it: take in *Warburg* upon the river *Dimel*: a faire towne just upon the Frontiers of *Hessen*, the County of *Waldeck* and *Paderborn*. The next good towne of *Waldeck*, is *Volckmarsen*, upon the small river of *Tuisch*, some 5 English miles to the South of *Warburg*.

Hee takes
townes in Pa-
derborn,

and in the
Dukedom of
Westphalia.

The same Division of his Army turning now Westward into the aforesaid Dukedom of *Westphalia*, takes in *Staerberg*: a fine towne upon a hill by the river *Dimel*, some 15 English miles from *Warburg*; thence goe they to *Brilon*, 10 English miles more Westerly. In this part of *Westphalia*, is the Elector of *Cullen* Lord of a many places. At *Arenberg*, a very faire town upon the river *Rbur*, (some 25 miles West of *Brilon*) hath he a goodly Castle: which the *Landgrave* now seases. Out of *Paderborn* and *Westphalia*, tooke hee a world of Cattle of all sorts; which hee sent home to his Boores of *Bischofhausen*, in recompence of what the *Tilli-*
ans

ans had lately taken from them. All these above-named townes, in the Dukedom of *Westphalia*, and the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*; are to be seene partly, in *Mercators Second Table of Westphalia*, and partly, in the particular Mapp of *Paderborn*: but best of all, in the *Mapp of the Dukedom of Westphalia*.

The Elector of *Cullen* having heard of the *Landgraves Progressie* in his *Diocese of Paderborn*, and *Dukedom of Westphalia*, writes to him to hold his hand: the *Landgraves* unto him. *Cullen writes answere to which, is as followeth.*

Most Reverend, most Illustrious, and loving Cosin, &c.

YOur Letters dated at *Cullen* ¹¹ of this October, wee His answere.
have received by your Trumpet. And whereas you in
them complaine of us, for our invasion of the Bishoprick of
Paderborn, in answero thereunto Wee will not conceale,
how heartily sorry wee are, and how sensible: of those ma-
ny and severall Armies, whiche as well from the *Catholick*
leaguers, as others, have for these many yeares together,
beene sent into this our deare Countrey of *Germany*. How
unchristianly and inhumanely, the *Protestant* Princes, and
States of the Empire, and our owne dominions in particular,
since wee came to the Government thereof, have beene
used by these Armies: and that against all reason, without
any cause, and besides all colour of right and justice: we are
yet sensible of. And which is worse then all this: wee yet
feelee, that when wee and our poore Subiects, did at any
time complaine or sue for justice or redresse, wee were but
scorned and reiected for our labours: contrary to all lawes
and rights of nations in-generall, and unto the *Imperiall Ca-*
pitulations in particular: as also against the peace of *Religion*
and of *Policie*, all *Constitutions* and *Articles* of the *Empire*,
and of the *Circles* thereof. Wee have endured the most
barbarous usage that might be, in our said dominions; En-
quarte-

The miserable
estate of the
Protestant
Princes, before
the Kinge
coming into Ger-
many: for even
thus, were all
of them ser-
ved.

quarterings, namely, Taxations, Burnings, Robberies, Sackings of our townes and villages: yea also and of putting to the sword, innumerable innocent subiects of ours of all sorts. But we have since understood, what their intent and drift then was, in so doing: by all force and violence, namely, to render us every where odious, and to make a most miserable beggar of us withall; by at once depriving us of our Countrey, goods, and subiects. During all which proceedings of theirs, and most lamentable sufferings of ours; the worst of all yet was, that upon those infinite complaints, prayers, cryes and lamentations, which both by word of mouth, letters and Ambassages wee made unto his Imperiall Maiestie, your selfe, and other Princes our Cousins, &c. wee were never able to obtaine so much, as that any one of all these, would once vouchsafe to take the least pitty of our cases, or shew any *Christian* compassion towards us: as if wee had utterly beeene uncapable, yea unworthy altogether; of any law, Justice, kindnesse, favour, or benefit. By this meanes (God is our witnessse) wee being become a Prince rejected altogether, by such as beare sway in the Empire; found our selves (and that upon iust grievances, not to be longer endured) enforced to take upon us such a resolution, as is indeed lesse desperate and more salutary; then if we had longer suffered and winked at, the said horrible and most enormous proceedings.

For this reason therefore, have wee made alliance with those, that by the most especiall providence of God, and to their owne great hazard, dangers and expences, are come armed into Germany; to the comfort of the *Evangelicall Professors*, and consequently of our own selves: whom (fighting for the iust cause) God hath already blessed with such notable victories, as wee already most heartily thanke him for them. Thus being obliged, to seeke (by Gods helpe) together with our said Allies and our sword, (which our enemies have by force put into our hands) such a Peace and quietnesse; as we have not beeene able heretofore to obtaine, by any

any prayers, or any (even almost unworthy and unprincely, and therefore unexcusable) patience, complaints or petitions. Being now by these reasons obliged, to take the same courses, as your said *league* hath given us examples to doe ; and being now utterly robbed and despoiled of what was our owne, to seeke what heretofore was not our owne. Wherefore we kindly pray you (as being a most excellent and high member of the laid *Catholike League*) not to take it in ill part, if we now follow the Rule, which is so solidly grounded upon *Reason* and *Injustice*, *Quod quis iuris statueris in ali-um, eo ipso, ipsentatur*. That every man would be content to have the same sentence passe upon himselfe, which hee hath pronounced upon another.

And thus, since there cannot at this present, any end of these *Germane* miseries be expected ; without such conditions be first assented unto, whereby those insupportable grievances of the *Protestants* may before-hand be removed : and without the consent of such Princes, (not of us alone) as the *Catholick League* hath by force (as it were) drawne into this warre ; and in whose hands the right of peace-making yet remaineth. And forasmuch as the *Generall Director of the Protestant warre*, his royall Majestie of *Sweden*, by name, (our most deare and honoured Lord and Cofin) hath appointed us what to doe, untill either by the sharpnesse of our swords, or rather by some faire meaneas (if it were possible) such a true peace might once againe be settled, whereby both our selves and posterities might become sufficiently assured of our safeties, and that hereafter wee might no more stand in awe of the like miseries and abuses. Meane while that such a peace is expected, his said most Excellent Majestie hath promised us his royall Protection : intending to bring all to consent unto such conditions, and to give such *assurances*, as shall be sufficient to hinder all farther bloodshed and destruction. Wee therefore for our owne parts, now doe, and ever hereafter shall, (according to our peaceable and *Christian inclination*) so soone as ever

The King of
Sweden's Title,
given him by
the Protes-
tants.

Mm

wee

wee shall understand the said *Lord Generall Director*, and other interessed Princes, to be satisfied in themselves, and be pleased to signifie unto us, the meanes whereby this warre (which hath beene enforced upon them and us,) may have a happy conclusion; offer our selves with all redinesse, to perfomre whatsoever may become a Prince that keepes a good Christian conscience within him, and is not desirous of any troubles; even as wee have not beene the causers of these miseries.

Thus wee remaine,

Yours,&c.

With this breaking in of the *Landgraves* into *Westphalia*, and upon such a quarrell too; was *Francis Williams* Bishop of *Osnabrug* (though something out of the way) so much affrighted, that hee fled speedily unto *Cullen*. And there hee thought himselfe yet at home; seeing when hee was but Count of *Wartenberg*, he had been *Major Domo*, *Hoffmeister*, or *Lord Steward* unto that *Elector*, till the yeare 1625, that he was chosen Bishop of *Osnabrug*. But the *Landgrave* meant him not; he was yet busie in *Paderborn* and *Westphalia*. About the middle of October, hee first summons the *Temporall Lords* and *Gentlemen* of the Bishoprick, to appeare before him; to take the *Oath of fidelity* to the King of *Sweden* and the *Protestants* Party; to agree among themselves concerning the levying of the Contributions; and to consult upon the enquartering of his souldiers. Here did he give out *Commissions* also, for some new levies. Thus doth he likewise, in the jurisdiction of the *Abbot* of *Corvey*. In the conquered places of *Westphalia*, hee had at his first entrance published his *Proclamation*: which was, for the calling home of all such *Westphalian* souldiers, as were in service either with the Emperour or *Catholike leaguers*: giving them sixe weekes time to come in, after which hee would sease upon what ever they had in the Country.

The *Landgrave*
summons the
Gentry of *Pa-*
derborn.

The

The *Catholickes* of this Duchie of *Westphalia*, being start-
led by the neernesle of the danger; send their Deputies unto
the *Landgrave*: desirous to purchase their peace at the best
hand of him. To their Proposition, this was his Answere.

*Those of West-
phalia send to
him, agree with*

Although in respect of *Tillies*, *Altringers* and *Fuggers* vile
demeanors in his Countrey, by ravishing of wives and vir-
gins; by burning, plundering and massacring of his subjects,
and that in such a manner, as the like was scarce to be found
in any *Story*; he had provocation sufficient given him, to slac-
ken the reines of all good military discipline; and to suffer
his soldiers in the like manner, to ryott it in all formes of li-
centiousnesse within the Lordships of the *Catholickes*; yet
his disposition being better inclined unto faire and just cour-
ses; he would not now become rigorous upon the revenge,
against those that had in so good time requested their peace
of him. And yet thus much withall, would he have the De-
puties to take notice of, that if within eight dayes next, the
Governour^r of the Province *Frederick Furstenburg*, with
some of the Magistrates of *Arnsberg*, did repaire unto him-
selfe or his Commissioners; and there conclude upon the ad-
mission of his garrisons into the towns of *Weele*, *Meschede*,
Geseke, *Kallenhard*, *Beelick*, *Brilon*, *Morsburg*, *Niderbach*,
Hallenberg, *Smallenberg*, &c. *Winterberg*; and that his soldiers
might be maintained by these townes; which should more-
over redeeme themselves from pillaging, by paying him a
summe of ready money: they should then be free from all
danger. But if herein they hearkened not unto him, then
would he not forbid hismen to do as the *Tillians* had done,
himselfe would force what garrisons he pleased upon them:
and what calamities might befall unto *Westphalia* thereup-
on, let themselves or any man conjecture.

*The condi-
tions he offers
them.*

*see for these
townes, in the
Mappe of the
Dukedom of
Westphalia, in
Mercator's Ap-
pendix.*

The *Landgrave* was now at *Cassel*; here was this treaty
held, and hither, indeede, were the *Westphalians* glad to
send as hee would have them. Thus made hee but a short
worke of it in *Westphalia*, *Paderborn*, and *Corbey*: for by

M m 2 the

The Allions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

the middle of November, were part of his forces received into the above-desired garrisons, and the rest returned into Hessen. At home in Hessenland in the mean time, were the two great Abby townes of Fulda and Hirschfield (the first Abbeys of the Empire) glad to compound with him. The jurisdiction of Hirschfield is reformed : that is, all the Imperialists put out (indeed Tilly had called out the most of them, to goe along with him) and the Landgraves forces taken in. Those of Fulda, send him 6000 Dollars unto Cassel, and will be content to continue their Contributions, and withall to take an oath unto him, as their Protector, so that the King of Swedens name might not be used in it. This is a clause which many Catholickē townes and persons, have usually indeede checkt at : but how farre the Landgrave had power to command unto them, I know not.

He goes to
the King of
Sweden.

The Landgrave, thus, having given the law to all these people, and finding no more worke at home, goes to seeke it of the King of Sweden : to whom (as you have heard in our Second Part, in the Kings Story : he went with his Armie towards the end of November.

* * *

THE



THE ACTIONS OF THE LOVVER SAXONIE.

*Of the taking of the great Citie of Rostocke, in
the Dukedom of Mecklenburg, by the King
of Swedens and Duke Iohns forces, October
16. 1631.*



Ow farre Duke John Albre of Mecklenburg had by mid-September, proceeded in the siege of Rostocke; wee leave to be read page 81, &c. of our First Part, and the Third Edition of it. The Lord Vermont, that was Sergeant-Major Generall of the Imperiall Armie, which Watenstein had lately left in those parts; was now Governour

within the said Citie. A brave valiant Gentleman, truly he was; one that did what might be done, for the keeping of that so important a Citie. But hearing it to be now se-

conded by every man, that the Generall *Tilly* was so utterly defeated at *Leipsic*, as hee was farre unable to resist the so much prevailing fortunes of the King of *Sweden*, and therefore no way likely to levie this siege : he findes himselfe necessitated to give way (with the rest) unto the times ; and resolves to prevent a *Schaladoe*, by a *Parlie*: he wanted pay to content his souldiers, and therefore they want wills, to performe their duties. The Townsmen grew weary, and would trust no longer : and the souldiers mutinous, and would fight no longer. Every man now called for a *Parlie*, and therefore by the 15 of October, was the Governour enforced to send his *Drymme* out into the Enemies leaguer, to demand it. The Treatie, in the upshot, came to the 14 conditions.

That the Lord *Virmont* Sergeant-Major-General, should be licenced by Duke *John of Mecklenburg*, to depart the towne the next day, with all his Officers, Soldiers, and their families. Have leave also to carry with him two halfe *Chro-*
toes, or *Quarter-Canon*, and one Field-piece : provided that none of them had the Armes upon them, either of the King of *Sweden*, the Dukes or Dukedom of *Mecklenburg*, or of the City of *Rostock*. And that they should have 100 bullets to them, 2000 pound of powder, and as much match, and musket bullets. That they should goe out with full Armes, matches lighted, bullet in the mouth, colours flying, and with bagge and baggage upon their wagons. And that they should have a *Swedish Convoy* as farre as *Wolfenbuttle* in *Brunswick-Land*; whither they shoule be suffered to goe in, if it were not besieged : and in case it were, then should they be convoyed into some other towne ~~near~~ unto the said *Wolfenbuttle* or the river *Weſer*, which then had an Imperiall garrison in it : and that they shoule leave sufficient hostages with the Duke, for the ſafe returne of the *Swedish Convoy*.

2. That

2.

That John Duke of Mecklenburg his Grace, and the Lord Achasius Todt, Leiftenant-Generall of the Horse to his Majestie of Sweden: shoud take order for the furnishing of these Imperiall forces now going out, with sufficient bread, beere, and Horse-meate, all the way, untill they came unto the place aforesaid. And to the end they might be no wayes disturbed in their march on the further side of the Ebb; the said Duke and Lord shoud give them their joynct letters, unto the Dukes of Brunswick and of Lunenburg.

3.

That the Officer who should now be appointed to goe along with, and to command this their Swedish Convoy, shoud have a charge not to forsake the said Imperialists, untill he had fully and safely brought them to one of the places aforesaid. And to the end that this Officer should take no advantage or occasion, to excuse himselfe from going thorough with them; the Lord Virmont shoud have a private letter given him under seale, wherein the names of this Officer Frederick Henfeld, and of those 150 Horsemen which were to goe upon the convoy, shoud be written: that in case the Swedes shoud offer to returne, Virmont might then produce this letter to stay them.

4.

That this convoy allotted them should take care, that no injurie were offered upon the march unto the Imperialists; either by the King of Swedens troopes, the Dukes of Saxonies, or of Mecklenburg.

5.

That the Imperiall Officers shoud have horses lent them for the carriage of their private baggage and Valeeses; and for such wounded and sick men to ride upon, as had no horses.

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

ses of their owne: and that they should have 40 Wagons goe along with them, so farre as the said convoy was to conduct them. That the Magistrates of the Citie should likewise furnish them with horses, for the drawing away of their Ordnance: which shoulde also be returned by the same Convoy. *Virmons* shoulde passe his word also, that the *Swedes* in their returne shoulde no wayes be molested by the Imperialists: and that (if necessity seemed so to require) the *Swedes* also shoulde have Convoy backe againe of some of these Imperiall Horse: untill they shoulde be passed all the danger: which *Horse* taking their Hostages back from *Rostock* with them, shoulde by a *Swedish* Trumpet be brought home againe.

6.

All prisoners should on both sides be set at liberty, without ransome: paying onely for their victualls, for the time pasted.

7.

Such as had runne from their Colours unto one anothers Armie, shoulde also be turned home againe.

8.

All conference, upon the way, betwixt the soldiers of either party, shoulde be forbidden: and no Officer was to inveigle away one anothers soldiers.

9.

All differences risen heretofore betwixt the Imperialists and the Burgers of *Rostock*, shoulde be buried in oblivion: and those personall and particular suites which were at this present depending; shoulde be made an end of by the Magistrates or Officers appointed on both sides: who shoulde with all speed convenient, procure redresse unto the plaintiff.

20. All

10.

All such works, as had beeene made up of late for the fortifying of the Citie, should so remaine unflighted : and that for avoiding of all danger, all the new digged mines about the towne, should be discovered to the Enterers. The Burgers also should not be plundered nor exacted upon, by the departing Imperialists.

11.

That the Lord *Virmont* should have free leave, to send *Volponius* (his Lieutenant Colonell) into *Wismar*, to discover the state of that Citie : and if he saw occasion to advise that garrison, to goe out also ; they of that towne should have the same conditions, with those of *Rostock* ; whether they thought good to goe out presently, or to stay three weeekes longer : till which time, a Cessation of Armes should on both sides be granted.

12.

That it should be free for the Duke of *Fridlands* Chancellor and Counsellors, either to goe now out of the towne with the soldiers, and to carry all their goods and Records with them ; or to stay behind still : and to be assured that they should no wayes be damnified.

13.

Whereas the Armes of the Citizens, had during the siege time beeene made use of by the soldiers : all those peeces of Armor which *Virmont's* people had not evident and present use of, should be left in the towne behinde them.

14.

If, (which God forbid) any sciarre fire shoulde breake out in the towne, at the going forth of the Imperialists ; there shoulde no advantage therenpon be taken by the Swerdists.

No

to

to quarrell either *Virmont* or his people : but an exemplary and severe punishment, should light only upon that person; by whose negligence or mischievousnesse, such a Casualtie had beeene occasioned.

These 14 Articles being the same day agreed, and signed by both parties; the next day being Friday October 16. did the Governor *Virmont* march forth of the towne; together with 300 Foot, two troopes of Horse, and all other things formerly agreed upon: 150 *Swediſh* Horse attending without the towne, to bring them going to the place aforesaid. The Imperialists being arrived about *Wolfenbuttel*, made immediately towards the river *Weſer*, whereabouts the Generall *Tilly* at that time was; whom *Virmont* thought to doe a very good service unto, if hee should now joyne with his weake Armie. *Virmont* being upon his march thitherward; was countermanded by the Count of *Manſfeld*, Goverour of *Magdenburg*; then Imperiall Felt-marshall for the *Lower Saxonie*, and directed to conjoynе himselfe with Colonell *Bonickhaſen* (who had a Regiment neere hand, of 13 Cornets of Horse) and that they two should presently besiege *Halberſtaſt*, into which, some *Swediſh* forces had very lately gotten. *Virmont* obeys preſently, hoping for the losing of one towne, to make himselfe a faver, by the winning of another. His ſummons being by the towne denied, he ſets his 3 Gunnes to worke, which hee had brought out of *Roſtſock*. A furious battery he made fo long as it laſted, & great hopes of a ſudden breach he alſo conceiued: but (alas) hiſ hundred of bullets would not hold out ever, nor that ſmall ſtore of powder which hee brought with him out of *Roſtſock*. Thus feeing no good to be done upon that nation, which came not into *Germanie* fo eaſily to loſe Cities, but to winne them; he was faine to ſurceafe his volleyes, and to be riſing. This when he had ſignified unto the Count of *Manſfeld*; hee received a command to repaire to him into *Magdenburg*: which he was bodily afraid, would be besieged by the *Swediſh*:

Virmont beſieges Halberſtaſt; in vaine.

dish: as indeed it was, within a few dayes after. That the towne of *Magdenburg* might not be overcharged, nor the wayes ungarded, *Virmont* is sent immediatly into *Waseben*, about 10 English miles short of *Magdenburg* to the *Westward*, and *Bonighansen* tooke up his quarter at a lesser towne, not farre from it: where how they both sped, wee may hereafter tell you, when wee come to speake of *Magdenburg*.

*The Levies agreed upon by the Protestant Princes
and Cities of the Circle of the Lower Saxo-
nie, in their Diet at Hamborow, 1631. for
their owne defence against the Imperialists.*

THIS goodly Countrey of the *Lower Saxonie* (which is the ninth Circle of the Empire) containes the 2 Archbischopricks of *Magdenburg & Bremen*, the great Bishopricks of *Hildestheim, Lübeck, Suorin, Ratzenburg, Minden, and Schleßwicke*: the 5 Dukedomes of *Saxon-Lawenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswicke, Lunenburg and Holstein*; the two Earldomes of *Roffain and Delmenhorst*: and the free Cities of *Lubeck, Hamborow, Mulhausen, Northausen, Goslar, and Goettingen*. Here also be most of those potent *Hanse* townes, (each being a compleat Common-wealth within it selfe) as *Magdenburg, Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock &c.* so famous both in ancient and moderne Stories.

The greater of these free, Imperiall, and Hanse towns, being of the *Lutheran* or *Augustian* confession; had sent their Deputies unto the famous Protestant Diet of *Leipzic*: which being ended April the third, no sooner were these Deputies returned home againe, but they are sent the second time unto another Diet held at *Hamborow*, in the beginning of May following. The consultation was, in what forme

N n a they

they might safeliste subscribe unto the *Dorees* of the *Diet* of *Leipsich*, and how farre engage themselves in a joynt *Vnion* and *levie*; for the defence of the *Protestant Religion*, and the *liberties of Germanie*. But this consultation, though something was done in it to countenance the *caule*; yet were no publique levyes set on foot, to defend it. That which broke the plot, (for the time) was the Count of *Tillyes* letters to them: not so much for the *Reason* or *Rhetorick* in them; but for the authority of the writer of them: an Army is a shrewd *Topick-place*, for to draw arguments from; it persuades terribly. The *Germans* were very well able to distinguish of the *obedience unto Cesar*, which *Tilly* advised them to have regard unto. The *thing*, they were willing wifhall; it was their duty: but the *degree* of *obeying*, was that which most troubled them: What *Tilly* called *obedience*, they feared might prove *flauerie*: they found a contestation in themselves, betwixt the keeping of their *obedience*; and the preservation of their *liberties*; and how these two might possibly hold long together, was a difference which they had not yet reconciled. Thus hath it oftentimes fallen out in the Empire; divers Common-wealths there, having great privileges, they will league one with another, and struggle hard to preserve them: so that when ever *Cesar* hath projected great desires, then began the conflict. Better therefore (even for both parties) is a *Monarchie*, then such an Empire. This was the purpose of the Generall letters unto their assembly.

MY L O R D S, &c.

Tillyes Letter.

I Have, to my great wonderment, received newes of late, of that generall meeting of certaine *Protestant Electors*, *Princes*, and *States*, at the towne of *Leipsich*: and how they have with one consent there agreed, to raise a common and a mighty Army among them all; that they have already gotten together

together a great power, and have more forces dayly in levyng. Now, that these preparations of those Princes, could not but with great danger be promoted; and must of necessity be the causes of a great distraction, they all knew: seeing that all private armings which were undertaken without the content of the Emperor, did not onely occasion many a sinister suspition among the people; but were flatly likewise forbidden to be made, by the fundamentall Constitutions of the Empire. Having assurance, therefore, of their present consultation at *Hamborow*, for the best way of subscibing unto the said *Diet of Leipisch*; he could not but advise them friendly, that in their said consultation, they would make this the chiefeſt of their thoughts, how they might preserve their faith and obedience unto *Cæſar*. His advise unto them, therefore was, that they should be chary of withdrawing themselves from the Emperors service, who was their Sovereigne Magistrate: but that as faithfull and good subjects, they should persevere rather in their due obedience; not suffering themselves to be drawne aside unto any contrary undertakings. He wifht them seriously to consider withall, how that as all their safeties and well-beings, did ſolely and wholly depend upon their Lord the Emperor: ſo on the contrary, was there nothing to be expected from other Princes (and from Forraigners especially, who meerly intended their owne private); but the loſing of their priviledges and Commerce, the ruine of their States, and the neceſſary drawing on, of a publick ſervitude.

How frequently hath experience taught us, what miserable events hath uenitabliy befallen thofe people, that have leagued againſt his Imperiall Maieſtie; and had embroyld themſelves in a warre againſt him. For theſe reaſons he nothing hereafter doubted, but they would ſo well conſider upon what might follow; that theſe his admoniſtions (which in the ſincerity of his ſoule he propounded unto them) ſhould finde ſome place among their conſiderations: and that they ſhould not hereafter need my other Monitor, to re-

member them of persevering in their due loyaltie and obedience. This if they did, it would be a most strong recommendation of them, unto *Cesar*; both to continue his grace and favour Imperiall unto them; to enfranchise them with more ample priviledges; and to doe any thing for the promoting, preserving, and inlarging, of their present conditions and commerces: For the doing of all which, their continuing in obedience, must needs give his Imperiall Maiestie a most large occasion.

May 19. 1631.

Your very loving Friend
John Count of Tilly.

Who can blame an adversarie, for using the best Colours and flourishes he can finde, to carry his owne cause withall? And let this be the *glosse* to the Generall *Tillyes* reasons, that they were presed by an Enemie. However, their owne feares prevailed with them; and what they did next, they did more privately. Their wills were still good unto the Cause; and they underhand promoted the Decrees of *Leipsic*. Thus as the King of *Sweden* grew stronger, they grew more courageous: and when the Protestant Princes struck in also with them, then was there another assembly a little more boldly talkt upon.

Greene wood laid neere the fire, naturally shrincks up it selfe; contracts its owne pores and opennesse, by which the flame might enter it; that by a neerer uniting of its parts, it might prepare it selfe for resistance. The same operation had the burning of *Magdenburg*, (now newly this month done) upon these its neighbour and confederate Cities: it did as much arme, as terrifie them. The King of *Sweden*, also dayly more and more prevailing; some of the Princes of this *Circle*, began to take Commissions from him, to levie and arme for him: hee became the Protector of their publicke liberty;

liberty; and under him, they singly promoted their personall pretences. Duke *George of Lunenburg*, as next heire to the Dukedom of *Brunswick*; (the present ruling Duke *Ulrich*, having no likelihood of issue,) hee armes to put in for that, which *Tilly* had almost devoured. The Archbishop of *Bremen*, had lost his towne of *Stoade*: and almost all his whole Countrey, was now possessed by Imperiall garrisons which *Tilly* had left there. Other Princes (yea all of them) had the same grievances: and all now resolved, to recover their Countries.

The Generall *Tilly* being thoroughly now defeated, as if the weight of his former reasons, had growne lighter with the decay of his power; the whole *Circle* in November following, appoint a more general meeting at the same *Hamborow*: whither all the Bishops, Princes and States either came, or sent their Ambassadors. Here they resolutely conclude for the levying of 3 new Regiments, upon the common charges of the *Circle*: the purpose being, to cleare the Countrey of the new encroached Imperialists. The first Regiment was undertaken for, by the Archbishop of *Bremen*, the Duchy of *Lunenburg* and *Zella-Brunswick*, with the Bishopricks of *Lubeck*, *Brunswick*, and *Hildeheim*. This was to consist of 1950 Foot, and 127 Horsemen. The second Regiment was to be raised by the Dukedom of *Mecklenburg*, the Countrey of the *Lower Saxonie*, the Bishoprick of *Ratzenburg*, and the Citie of *Lubeck*: which was to be 1675 Foot, and 366 Horse, strong. The third, which was to be 1448 Foot only; was to be raised and paid by the Dukes of *Holstein*, and the Bishoprick of *Schwerin*. All these were to be joyned to Duke *George of Lunenburg* owne Armie: hee being to be Generall ouer them.

The *Hamburges* excused themselves, from bearing any part in these levies; for that (as they said) they had very lately received some favours and priviledges from his Imperial Majestie; who had newly honored their towne with the Title of an *Imperiall City*. Thus much also I take leave

to

The *Hamburgers* refuse to
be against the
Emperor:

by reason of
their differen-
ces with the
King of Den-
mark.

The continu-
ation of the
siege of *Wismar*

to adde out of mine owne private observation. There was a difference now depending, betwixt his Majesty the King of *Denmark*, and the *Hamburgers*; wherein the Emperour had already interposed his letters and authority: cited the Deputies of both parties, to appeare before the younger *Augustus* Duke of *Brunswick*, and *Lunenburg*, and other his Commissioners, at *Lunenburg* April the third, 1631. New style. The *Hamburgers* indeede appeared, but the King of *Denmark* refused: and so the matter still hanging, the *Hamburgers* having continuaall neede of the Emperours good favour; durst not engage themselves amongst those Princes, that so openly thus opposed him. The other Princes went on with their new levies: of all which, the Archbishop of *Bremen*, and *George* Duke of *Zella-Lunenburg*, were most forward: both of which had received Commissions and instructions, from the King of *Sweden*.

The Archbishop of *Bremen* thereupon, levies in his owne Countrey: and the Duke of *Lunenburg* goes to *Hamborow*, about monyes and Bills of Exchange; which tooke him up till mid-Januarie. Of both their comnings into the field, we shall speake in their due places. And while they are at their levies; let us entertaine our Readers with what hapned in this *Lower Saxonie*, in the meantime; and that is the yeelding of *Wismar* and *Danitz*, unto the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*.

How this strong *Hanse* towne of *Wismar*, had beene by *Adolph Frederick* Duke of *Mecklenburg* besieged; we have told you page 83 of our *First Part*, *Rostock* being wonne, Generall *Todts* Army that had taken it, removed to *Wismar*, and sate downe before it, Colonell *Gram* commanded in the towne; who to hinder the *Swedes* and the *Mecklenburgers* working; sends out 1000 sallyers, to beat the besiegers out of their Approaches. After a hard skirmish, and some slaughter, they are contented to retire againe into their Citie: first, having in this sally flaine Generall Major *Breitenbach*, that then commanded in the Approaches.

Gram seeing his towne laid hard-at, and no hope of succours;

cours ; sends out to the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, to treate upon Conditions. These were his desires : That hee might have liberty to dispeed a Captain unto Lieutenant-General *Diepenbach*, to tell him what stafe the towne was in : and that there might be a Cessation of Armes till his returne with the Answere. A Councell of war being called in the leaguer, *Wismar* neare Grams proposition was upon these termes assented unto.

1. That the towne Captaine should have a *Mecklenburgers* Trumpet, to goe along with him.
2. That this Captaine, was to have *three weekes al- *Because hee lowed him for his returne ; and if hee could not possibly make his journey in that time ; then hee should have a moneth. *was to gne as farre as Bish-*
mit.
3. That the conditions of rendring the towne, should by Gram be consented unto , and under his hand and Seale, delivered to the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, before the Captaine should take his journey.
4. That in the meane time , there should be a Cessation of Armes both by Sea and Land, on both sides : and pledges given for it.
5. That during this truce , the besieged should containe themselves within their walls and Out-worikes, and the besiegers, in their Quarters : the one, not comming neerer to the Leaguer ; nor the other , approaching no neerer to the towne.
6. That after the returne of the Captaine , Gram should immediatly deliver up the towne and out-worikes to the King of *Sweden*, and the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* : according to the agreements, before hand concluded upon.
7. But if in the meane time , the Fort called *The Whale*, should for want of victualls be enforced to surrender ; the taking in of that, should be no breach of truce, or treaty.

This was much about the twentieth of our December: and whilst the Captaine is upon his way , the strong towne of *Damitz* was yeelded up : and that we now turne to.

The place of it, is upon the very Southern Frontier of this

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

The siege of
Dantz upon
the Elv.

Yecched.

With the con-
ditions.

Dukedom of Mecklenburg; neere unto the March of Brandenburg, next unto the Lower Saxonie: from which the river Elb onely parts it.

Tis a very strong place, and had beeene long besieged by Colonell Lohausen: against whom Colonell Strauben with his owne, and some of the Duke de Savellies Regiment, very well defended it. The towne, at length, prettily thus betrayed its owne weakeesse, unto the Duke of Mecklenburg. Strauben upon the taking of Rostock, fearing that the Baron of Virmond would have come into his towne; and perchance have taken his command from him: writes a letter unto Virmond, to diswade him. His reasons were, for that his Magazine was so empty, and his provisions so neere spent; that they would never maintaine both of them, a moneth together: so that he advised him to goe seeke some other Quarter. These letters fell into the Duke of Mecklenburgs hand: whereupon, the siege was more pressed and hastned. In the end, therefore, of December, was the rendring concluded upon, on these articles.

1. That the garrison should next day depart the towne, without carrying away any victuals or ammunition: without wronging the buildings, slighting any of the workes, or leaving any powder-mines or traines, in Cellars or other places.

2. That the Governour with all his owne souldiers and officers, and those of the Duke De Savelli, should freely march out of the Citie, with all their Armes and Baggage-wagons, Colours flying, Matches lighted, Bullet in the mouth: upon no pretence soever to be disturbed.

3. That they should by Lohausens men be convoyed unto Munden upon the Weser: and be secured against all molestations by the way, either by the Kings Forces, or any other his Allies.

4. That they should have 15 Waggons, for the carrying away of their sick people.

5. That such Ecclesiasticall persons of the towne, as had a minde

minde to depart : shoule have free leave to goe themselves, and to carry away their *Church ornaments* with them.

6. That the prisoners, on both sides, shoule be set at liberty, without ransome.

7. Lastly, that two principall Officers of the Garrison, shoule be left for hostages with *Lohausen*, till the safe returne of his Convoy.

Upon these conditions, was the towne rendred, 400 of the garrison, quittng their owne Ensignes, became soldiers unto *Lohausen*. Those that marcht towards the *Wefer*, were in the end of Januarie after, met withall and cut in peeces by Generall *Baniers* men : as we shall anon tell you.

About the eighth of Januarie, the *Wismar* Captain, whom Governor *Gram* had sent to *Diepenbach*, againe returned : whereupon, Tuesday Januari the tenth ; was the towne ^{Wismar yeel.} ~~dec.~~ rendred, upon the conditions before agreed. It chanced, that a *Swedis^h* Lieutenant, (one of those that was to convoy *Gram* and his people into *Silesia* :) offered, upon the way, to debauch some of his soldiers from him. *Gram* was so incensed with the Lieutenant, for enticing away his men; that bending his Pistoll upon him, hee shot him dead upon the place. Generall *Todt* (a fierce man) having notice of this feate ; and of a discovery of false play withall, that *Gram* (contrary to his covenants) had carried away 300 muskets in the straw and hay of his Baggage wagons ; and that he had pillaged some ships in the Haven; and drowned some peeces of Ordnance, after the time of the agreement : he and *Lohausen* goe out after with a powder ; whom over-taking, they lay hold on, and send him and his *Commissarie* prisoners into *Gripswald*. *Gram* was marcht out with almost 3000 men ; whom *Todt* now fallng aboard with , kills 300 upon the place ; and so terrifies 2000 more, that to save their lives they became soldiers to the King of *Sweden*. The *Commissarie* offered 12000 Dollars for his ransome : but before he gat out of *Gripswald*, more perchance were fetcht out of him. *The Swedes* found 20 last of gunpowder within *Wismar* : Told to her
Graue pifeler.

Upon occasion
of a quarrell
by the way:

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

with great store of faire brasse-peeces, and militarie ammition sufficient.

And thus the whole Dukedom of *Mecklenburg* being cleared of the Imperialists, and the *Walsteiners*; and the true Princes impatriate into their owne possessions : the Generall *Achatius Todt*, (after a while) goes with his Armie to the Bishop of *Bremen* : who having before risen with some sixe or 8000 men, and well recovered some of his townes againe : hee was now hard laid at by the Count of *Gronsfelt*, by whom, the townes of *Langwedel* and *Verden* were reprise from him. But a more desperate Enemie was now comming upon him ; *Pappenheim* was now entered upon the stage of this *Lower Saxonie* : and to him now turne wee.

The Bishop of
Bremen rising,
redig goes to
him.

The Storye of
Magdenburg.

How inhumane a devastation of that so ancient and goodly *Hanse* towne of *Magdenburg*, the Counts of *Tilly* and *Pappenheim* had lately made ; we have in our *First Part* delivered. Of the cruelty of which fury, wee did not then, nor can doe now, discover the one halfe to you. A goodly Citie, reduced to such ruines : as if *Hannibal* had done it, and not *Tilly* : *Hannibal* (I say) who had the Art by fire and vinegar, to moulder away the rockes and mountaines into crumbles, for the forcing of his owne passage. Those that have since seene the 80 or 100 meaner houses, now onely (with the *Cathedrall*) left in *Magdenburg* : have admired not only how the stone buildings, but the stones themselves (unlesse in some vast *Lime-kiln*) could possibly have beeene turned into such savage and such rabbith. Tis my *Complaint*, this, not my *Declamation*. I know there is a sharpe *Latine* pen that hath laboured to excuse *Tilly* and *Pappenheim* upon it, and to charge the whole blame upon the Townsmen, and the *Administrator*. *Tilly* (hee sayes) offered them I know not how much mercy. If to offer a man *peace* with the losse of his *Freedom* and *Religion*, be *mercy* : then must wee finde out another name for oppression. It was not their *Emperour*, that

that the *Magdenburgers* resisted : but his Sonne : might Prince *Rodolph William* the Emperours second Sonne , have beeene Bishop of *Magdenburg*, and the alteration of Religion and old *customes* yeelded unto : then, upon those termes, might the *Magdenburgers* have had such a cruell mercie. That was the quarrell against *Magdenburg* : they had accepted of Prince *Christian William* of *Brandenburg*, a Protestant, and refused Prince *Rodolph William* of *Gratz*, a *Catholick* : and this ruined them.

How willing that *Champion of Religion and of the Free townes*, the King of *Sweden* would have been to redeeme the City, may appeare by his printed *Apologie*. And to shew that this was in earnest, had he then been able, he now goes about it, so soone as he is : no sooner had the *Victory of Leipsich* made him both strong and famous, but hee devotes himselfe to the regaining of it. How the Generall *Banier*, had at the Kings comming away from *Hall* and *Leipsich*, beeene left thereabout with order to invest *Magdenburg* : wee before pointed at, Page 28 of our *Second Part*. The Lord Marquesse See Page 100
of our First
Part. The L. Mar-
quesse Hamil-
ton, goes to
Magdenburg. *of Hamilton* likewise, then lying in the neighbour *March of Brandenburg*, had commission for the ioyning with *Banier* for the redueing of it. His Lordships Army arriuing in *Pomerland* in the beginning of August, presently did this service unto the King of *Sweden*, that it was confessed to be one of the occasions of the victory of *Leipsich*. The fame of its being 20000 strong , hastned *Saxonia* to ioyne with the King, encouraged the whole *Protestant Party* : and made *Tilly*, besides, to leave his garrisons 6 or 8000 stronger then hee needed otherwise to haue done , who would have shrewdly troubled the King at that great Battell.

The *English* Army being landed at the *White house* by *Wolgast*, August the second, lay there about 3 weckes or a moneth, for Arnaing and refreshing. Thence went they to *Ancklam*, *Vckermund*, and *Stetin* : about which they lay in *Dorps* some 3 weekes longer. Thence went they to *Dam*, *Gripenbagen*, *Konicksberg*, and *Custring* : and some into

Franckford upon the *Oder*. Hence, after some 40 days, they went to *Moncheberg*, *Strausberg*, and *Bernau*: all on the West of the *Oder*. Thence to *Spandau* *Brandenburg*, and *Zerbitz*: where they crost the *Elb*. Thence to *Kalbe* and *Saltz*; and so to *Magdenburg*, a little before the middle of November.

The towne of *Magdenburg* had ever since a weeke before the *Battle of Leipsich*; beeene entrusted with a great part of the riches and spoiles of warre, a long time prowled together, by *Tilly* and his Officers: who seeing the King would fight, had sent them into that place of safetey. The Governour of it, was Count *Wolff* of *Mansvelt*: and his garrison, some 3000. The Lord Marquess *Hamilton* and the Generall *Banier*, sate downe to it; about the middle of November: their Quarters for the Foot-forces, being in two Dorps, about two *English* miles short of the towne, towards *Saltz*; the *Elb* being on their right hand. Both the Generalls, were lodged in one of those villages, where the Foot lay: which were such decayed forsaken Cottages; that the houses were neither enow, nor sufficient, to keepe the men dry. And thus had *Tilly* left the Countrey. *Baniers* Horse were quartered in the next Dorps on the left hand of *Magdenburg*: the nearest at the distance of an *English* mile; though their guards were neerer. Both Horse and Foot, might come to sixe or 7000 men. Workes they had none against the towne; but onely three Sconces: first, a greater one, upon the top of a hill, halfe an *English* mile from the Citié: secondly, another to guard the Avenue of their Quarter; and a third upon the right hand by the *Elbs* side, which was indeed never finisht. Generall *Banier* was for the most part in the Quarters: though now and then he made a posting voyage to *Hall*; 44 *English* miles to the Southward: where about this time his wife lay in; and *Baudissen* was one of his Gossips.

Peeecs of service, there were onely these 2, all the time of the 7 weekes leaguer. The first was, (about the middle of the

the siege upon a little Iland in the *Elb*: to which the towns-men used to send their Boats, a fuelling. This being observed, some *Dutch* Foot were sent out against them; betwixt whom fell a slight skirmish, not worth relating. The mis-
chance was more remarkable, then the encounter: for that a *Dutch* Two flight
sparke of fire lighting into the powder, in one of the *Dutch* skirmishes,
boats; blew that up, and the assailants in it. The second
service was towards *Christmas*, and by the horse: 300 of
whom being put over to the further side of the *Elb*; there
intercepted some of the towne garrison, that were sent over
the bridge for forage.

The towne, by *Christmas* eve, was brought to a *Parlie*, in
which, had *Banier* beeene as forward as my Lord Marquesse,
the towne might have beeene rendred. Three Commissioners
were on both sides appointed for the treaty: a Colonel, The towne
a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Sergeant-Major. The Lieute-
niant Colonel, sent from the Besiegers, was named *Salomon*
Adams (as I take it) who is now Goverour of the towne:
and the Majors name is *Chamberlaine*. The place of treaty
was betweene the Quarters and the towne; each side bring-
ing a guard of 100 foot, and 50 Horsemen. The conditions
offered being something pressing; the towne Commissioners
answered, that they were not as yet in such necessity:
but if they might have faire termes, they would be willing
to surrender. On Wednesday they met againe; but nothing
was concluded: *Drummes* and *Trumpets*, going still be-
tweene, from the towne unto the leaguer. The night fol-
lowing, there slipt two of *Pappenheims* horsemen into the
towne; so that the Lord Marquesse's Trumpet being next day
sent in, with a full expectation to bring the newes of yeeld-
ing: the Count of *Mansfeld* returned this peremptory word
by him, that he desired to be excused, he could not with his honour continue on the Treaty; for that he had intelligence upon the
that his succours were marching, *Pappenheim* w^{ould} be there
by such a day and hour; and that w^{ould} he trust unto. *Pappenheim* com-
ming.

A Comfort, as cold as the season. Newes being still brought

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

The siegelyed.

Baniers feare.

brought of *Pappenheims* comming : upon New-Yeres day would *Banier* needs be rising. Now hee beganae to shew himselfe, and his Commission ; by which hee was not to fight, to the hazard of the Armie : whereupon depended the *Lower Saxonie*. The Lord Marquesse, (as his Captaines now in towne justifie it to me) was very loath to have risen : but *Banier* now countermanding all counsailes, drew off his men the same evening, and hastned towards *Saltz* upon the West side of the river *Sala*, seaven English miles South of *Magdenburg*. The *English* and *Scottis* being too weake to abide *Pappenheim*, were faine to goe along too : and *Banier* thinking not himselfe sure enough at *Saltz*; went next evening sixe miles more southerly, unto *Kalbe* ; upon the same river. Beyond the towne on the other side the *Sala*, are there some strong *Workes* : for the guarding of the towne and *Passe*, which is of good importance. Into these, *Banier* now drew his men over the Bridge : see now, who was most friglited. The *English* and *Scottis* with foure *Dutch* Companies of Sir *Alexander Leslies*, Generall-Major to the Lord Marquesse staid within the towne upon the other side, next unto *Magdenburg*. *Banier* sent to the Lord Marquesse, to draw over towards him: threatening if he would not, to burne the bridge, and to leave him to the mercy of the Enemy. He told the Lord Marquesse also, that he would blow up his house in *Calbe*, which he was quartered in, so soone as ever he were come out of it. This house was a good high one, and next unto the *River*: out of the windowes whereof, (tis supposed) *Banier*s feare was, that the Enemies Musketiers might play into his *Workes*, and annoy his people. The *Passe* being viewed by Sir *Jacob Ablie*: he assured my Lord Marquesse, that hee might safely march away in a quarter of an houres warning, in despight of *Pappenheim* and his Army. The Lord Marquesse also by the fight of it being confirmed, refused to goe over the Bridge to *Banier*, but staid here with his men, till after *Pappenheims* quiting of *Magdenburg*; they went thence unto *Halberstat*. And thus
came

came this second endeavour of relieving *Magdenburg* unto nothing. Whether it were *Banier's* feare, or *Commission*, that left *Pappenheim* a faire way, to come into it, I know not: this is sure; that no sooner were the Besiegers gone, but he entered into the towne: and to him now turnes our *Story*.

How the *Catholicke Leaguers* in their *Diet of Ingolstar*, did in December conclude upon the setting forth of a *flying Armie*, under the command of *Godfrey Count of Pappenheim*: you may see *Page 123* of our *Second Part*. His monies for the levie, were mostly made over to *Cullen*: thither went himselfe in person, a little after the Battle of *Leipzich*. He was to be Lieutenant-General, for the *Lower Saxonie*; and the Count of *Gronsfels*; whom *Tilly* with some small forces, had lately left about the *Wefer*, was to be his Felt-Marshall. Some Commissions had before his coming, beeene given out for Regiments: as to *Lambo*, *Quade*, *Affenburg*, *Ohr*, *Nienhausen* and *Palant*, all Colonels. Part of *Lambo's* Horse Regiment gathered out of *Luwickland*; himselfe saw mustered before him at *Cullen*, in the beginning of December: but being neither compleat nor armed; it went not along with him. *Nienhausen* that was *Amptman* of *Steuerwold* by *Hildeheim*: had not a long time after gotten up above 300 Foot, and 150 Horse. *Palant*, was to have a double Regiment, of Horse and Foot: Two Horse-Regiments of *Westerbott* and *Westphals*, were said to be already in *Musijerland*: so that none of all these went now along with him into *Brunswickland*.

And yet he even now, promised to relieve *Magdenburg*; and about the middle of December, he sets out from *Cullen* to *Wolfenbustle* in *Brunswickland*: 44 English miles, to the Southwest of *Magdenburg*. Thitherward hee goes, onely with his owne private retinue: not so much as with a *Cornet*, or a *Company*. For the patching up of his Armie, hee was to lighten the garrisons of *Brunswickland*: out of every one of which, these were his proportions. Out of *Nienburg* on the *Wefer*, hee drew 300 Foot, of young *Tillies* Regi-

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ment, the Governor of *Ingolstas*: which were commanded by his Lieutenant Colonell *Steven Andreas*. Out of *Minden* and *Hamelon*, each 300, of *Gronfels* Regiment: commanded by Captaine *Soubendorff*. Of *Blankharts* Regiment, he had 300: and as many out of *Kalenberg*, *Nienfeste*, and *Steinbrug*: commanded by Captaine *Pop*. Out of *Goettingen* had he 400 of old *Tellies* Regiment; commanded by *Witich*. Out of *Wolfenbuttle*, 1000: halfe belonging to Count *Gronfelds*, and halfe to Baron *Glein*, Governor of the towne. *Glein* went along with his part: and Captaine *Scharffseder* led the other moiety. Lastly, he had 7 Ensignes or 300, which wee told you came out of *Damitz*: which belonged to Baron *Loebel*, a Counsellor of Warre to the Emperor: who being not there, they were led by *Standor*, his Lieutenant-Colonel. These were in all 3200. Comets of Horse, he had 25: wherof, of *Bonickhausens*, 12: Of *Horsts*, 8, and of *Linsle's*, 5, in all about 1500. Horse and Foot, in all: 4700.

Pappenheim, indeed, gave out himselfe to be 100 or 1200, and for so many hee commanded bread to be baked at *Wolfenbuttle*: and yet to conceale the smalnesse of his numbers, did hee never march from *Wolfenbuttle* unto *Magdenburg*, but in the night, and in devideed Companies.

There had particular intelligence beeene sent out of *Kalenberg* to the Generall *Banier*, of the smalnesse of *Pappenheims* Armie: and the Prince of *Anhalt* (as I heare) offered to lay his owne head, to a Dollar, if he were 5000 men. But Duke *Fredericke Ulrich* of *Brunswick*, being deceived by *Pappenheims* Bakers, (who shewed Commissions to provide for 12000) writing to *Banier*, that he was indeed so strong: this was the thing that scared the *Swedish* Generall; who considered that the towne of *Magdenburg*, had 2900 more, to joyne with him.

His Commission (I heare) was not to fight, as little as *Baniers*: the chiefe of this his first expedition, being to spoile the workes, to fetch the goods and garrison out of *Magdenburg*: for which he was said, to have carried three or 400 Wagons

Wagons along with him. These Wagons served also to barriado the Armie on the wing : many of these having three or four soldiers in them with double bakes : which are pieces that shoot sixe ounces bullet.

The weaker townes of the Duke of Brunswicks, betwixt *Wolfenbustle* and *Magdenburg*; he now plunders : this was but to keepe his hand in ure, and for his recreation. *Helmstedt*, a towne and University 24 English miles from *Wolfenbustle*, is so served ; after his lying foure dayes at it. Here he left *Laebel*s seaven Companies of 300 men. Thence goes hee to *Schoningen* 11 miles further : and so to *Carlben* ; whence he thrusts into *Magdenburg*. There having a while refreshed his Army, hee devides his owne and *Manfelds* men, into two great Partees: which are sent severally abroad upon both sides of the river, for the speedier plundering of the Countrey.

Hee enters
Magdenburg.

No sooner were the Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, and the Generall *Bauer* gone out of *Salz*; but *Pappenbeims* men were the same day pillaging of it. *Froleben*, *Elendeleben*, *Bieren*, and *Altenfleben*, are made prey of : and so is *Mulingen* Castle ; the Court and Residence of the Count of *Barby*. On the Easterne side of the *Elt*, is the Baron of *Glein* (Gouvernour of *Wolfenbustle*) sent out, with some fixe troopes of Horse, and 1500 or 2000 Muskettiers.

and sends out
2 Partees, to
plunder the
Country.

He goes or sends first, to *Gomeren*; 8 English miles South-East of *Magdenburg*. This Partee of his makes towards *Barby* towne, within two miles of *Calbe*: where (if we will believe *Gallobelgicus*) they were very strangely frighted. The plunderers (as they thought) discerned a great many fires about the towne: which they supposed to be so many *Courts of guard*: and that the *Swedish*, in this neerenesse to *Calbe*, had beeene there enquareered. The townes-men hearing afterwards, by what apparitions their towne had beeene preserved; concluded verily (layses hee) that it was a guard of Angels, which had thus scared away their Enemies. Those of our nation, then hard by *Barby*, never heard of this *ignis fatuus*:

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

fetum: this, indeed, was upon our *Twelfe day*; and yet, I believe nothing of this *Theophania*, these *dizine apparitions*.

Som e hing there might be in it: divers of our nation of Captain *Dowglasse* Company, lying that night at *Rosenberg*, (within sight of *Barby*) for the guard of the baggage; set, by mischance, a Gentleman's house and another, on fire: which is likeliest to be the fires, imagined,

January the seventh, does *Pappenheim* draw out of *Magdenburg*: not as my last quoted Author delivers, for that he had newes of the Duke of *Lunenburg*, threatening to besiege *Wolfenbüttel*: for (plainely) neither this Duke nor his Brother, had as yet any one man levyed. *Pappenheim* and *Manfeld* having concluded, first that *Magdenburg* was not to be maintained; and secondly, that the whole Country was more to be considered, then that one ruined Citie; they had now resolved upon leaving of it. *Pappenheim* had done what he came for, and what should he stay there, longer? Having therefore charged all the goods he came thither for, upon his Waggons; he sends them onward with his Foot, towards *Wolfenbüttel*. The Ordnance which he had resolved to carry along with him, it seems he wanted horses for: seeing 18 of these were found standing upon the Market place; with their harnesse or traice cut, after the draught-horses had beene put to them.

Out of *Magdenburg* carried he these Forces. Of Colonel *Brenner's* Regiment, 10 Companies, or 1500. Of Marquesse *William of Baden*, 8 Companies, or 650. Of *Cratz* his Regiment 5 Companies, about 150. Of *Goltz* his Regiment, 500. Beside these, were 3 troopes of horse; one, of *Manfeld's* owne guards, and the other 2 of *Crabatt*: but all so weake, that those three could not make up a hundred. In all, 2900: 1000 of which, he againe put into *Wolfenbüttel*.

Pappenheim was gone almost 2 dayes, before the Lord Marquesse or *Banier* had notice of it. Whilst his Foot and Baggage, were marching away, some troopes of his horse made a Brave upon the *Swedish* before their Quarters. A faire

Compagnia

The *Pappenheimers* arawe
the *Swedish*,

Compagnia there is betwixt *Saltz* and *Kalbe*: and a hill in it within halfe an *English* mile of this latter. Upon that, did some of them make a muster of themselves; stood still, and gazed upon the *English* and the *Scottish*: whom my Lord Marquesse now commanded to be drawne out into *Battaglia*; *Banier* likewise having sent over some sixe or seaven troopes of Horse and Dragooneers. Two houres, they stood looking this one upon another: without exchanging so much as one bullet, betweene them. The *Pappenheimers*, it appeares, meant not to make a businesse of it; but did it only to amuze their Enemies: either whilste their Foot and Baggage, might get the more time to march away; or that their but march another fellowes, might in the meane time, plunder some of way without the neighbour Dorps, undisturbed. After two houres, these Horse marcht off quietly, and followed after their Armie unto *Wolfenbuttle*.

Pappenheim leaving *Magdenburg*, did not commit that spoile and barbarisme, upon the towne, as was reported. Part of the bridge (some say) he burned: though others say twas burnt before. Some Boats and Mills hee spoiled in the river, and blew up some of the Works. Of Ordnance, he left 18 (as was said) upon the Market place, 19 he drowned in the *Elb*; 2 he blew up with gunpowder, and left above 40 upon the walls. Three hundred *Quintalls* of gunpowder (each *Quintall* being 100 pound weight) hee left behinde him, which had it not beeene concealed from him: he would, surely, have put fire unto, or have carried away with him. A world of *Match* was there left; and of Corne, Pease and Oates, great plenty: And all this was found in it, when as upon the Munday, after *Pappenheims* going; my Lord Marquesse entered it. The Generall *Bamers* Army, staid about *Kalbe*, till Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar* came into those parts to joyne with him, to pursue *Pappenheim*: and my Lord Marquesse's men, till towards the end of the moneth, that they went towards *Halberstadt*: Their way lay *Weit-ward*; by *Egelan*, 16 miles; thence to *Cruningen*, 12 miles: part compa- whence nies.

Hee going to
the King of
Sweden.

whence 6 miles further unto *Halberstadt*; where they staid above a quarter of a yeaer for the guard of the towne and Country, till such time as they were taken on by Duke *William*: as in the Kings Story we have told you. From *Halberstadt*, upon the first of February, went the Lord Marquelle towards the King of *Sweden*: with whom the 11 of the same moneth he arrived. His Lordship (as I have heard Sir *Jacob Ashley* tell, who in that journey waited upon him) was very graciously entertained by the King: a concluding argument, that what his Lordship had undertaken, was very well accepted. The King of *Sweden* (besides his freedome of language, wherein he used not to be sparing, against whatsoeuer had displeased him:) had a Spirit, withall, so highly mounted above all dissembling, that it scorned to speake, or to looke, boory.

Pappenheim
goes from
Wolfenbuttle.

The Count of *Pappenheim* being arrived at *Wolfenbuttle*, about the 11 or 12 of January, he leaves the luggage brought out of *Magdenburg*, in this strong Citie; and 1500 or 2000 men with the Lord of *Glein*, to defend it. This towne, was sometimes the Court and Residence of the Dukes of *Brunswick*: untill *Tilly* of late yeares, had taken it from the King of *Denmarke*: and thrust Duke *Vlrick* thence; by the unruliness of an Imperiall garrison. For the Duke perceiving he had no command over his subjects, by reason of the garrison: so soone as ever hee had consented to the *Diet* of *Leipzich*: pretending one morning to goe a hunting, he went to reside in *Brunswick* towne; and never since that time, returned into *Wolfenbuttle*.

About the middle of the moneth, the Count of *Pappenheim* sets forward into the Countrey of *Lunenburg*: whose eldest Duke but being unmarried, the 2 Dukedoms of *Zella-Lunenburg* and of *Brunswick*, with the great Bishoprick of *Hilleshaim*: are all likely to fall to Duke *George*, who will then be one of the greatest Princes of *Germany*. *Christian* of *Zells-Lunenburg*, is now heire apparent unto the childlesse *Vlrick* of *Brunswick*, before-named. Before his going, hee sends

sends to the Imperiall towne of Brunswick; seaven English miles downe the same river of Onacre, with *Wolfenbuttle*, to the Northward. His demand was, to be by that Citie furnished with a *Vitaticum*, or proportion of provisions for his journey. This being a very strong towne, which the Dukes of Brunswick, (though often they have attempted it) could never make themselves Masters of: had the courage to denie him this motion.

Now marches hee up into *Lunenburg*; and of that Duke hee demands Contribution; and that his strong towne of *Zell* upon the river *Abre*, should take in a garrison from him. There be five Brothers of these Dukes of *Lunenburg* (as I heare) and all unmarried except Duke *George*. The eldest, I have before named: The second Brother, is Duke *George*, the man now comming upon the stage of warre; for which purpose hee was at this instant at *Hamborow*, about his *Bills of Exchange*, and getting up of monies. To Duke *Christian* was *Pappenheim* said to write his letters, to this purpose. That he should send Commissioners to him, to agree upon his Contributions: labour to hinder the levies of his brother *George*: and if he could not that way prevale with him, hee should either arrest his body, and keepe it safely in *Zell*; or else send that and the men hee had begun to levie, into his Armie. Some speake of *Pappenheims* threatening to besiege *Zell*: but this the Duke (perchance) would not be much afraid of: his towne being very neere as strong as *Wolfenbuttle*. To be briefe, the Duke excusing himselfe, that he had no power over his brother, agreed with *Pappenheim* to give him 4000 Dollars monethly contribution. This was the Dukes cheapest course; for he well knew that *Pappenheim* could never stay to take up the first payment of it: Duke *William* of *Saxony-Weymar*: the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, and the Generall *Banner*, the Duke understood to be all at this instant comming against *Pappenheim*, so that he knew he could never be able to tarry in his Countrey.

And but for this, *Pappenheim* had the best of *Lunenburg*:

for

and compels
with him.

Avoiding out
of the Coun-
try,

he passes be-
yond the *Weser*.

300 Imperi-
alists deafeated.

for that he had already nestled himselfe in the *Freyheit*, (or *Freedom*) the strongest part of the Dukes Country. His way to it from *Wolfenbuttle*, was to *Steinbruck*, on the river *Fuse*, 18 English miles from *Wolfenbuttle*. Thence passing by *Hanover*, 30 miles further, he settles himselfe at *Bettelrode* in the *Freyheit*, 10 English miles from the river *Wefer*. A place it is, to the North of *Hanover*; having a pretty strong Castle by it: both round encompassed with 2 woods, the 2 rivers *Aller* and *Leine*; divers ditches and Morasses; so that there is but hard comming at it. But here could he not stay above 5 or 6 dayes; for that hearing by this time, of the Generall *Todts* taking of *Wismar*; and his comming (or about to come) over the *Elb*, to the defence of the Bishop of *Bremen*, and Dukes of *Lunenburg*: as also of Duke *Williams*, *Hessens*, and *Baviers* approaching, on the other side upon him: he fearing to be driven up into the middle betwixt them; makes with all speed towards the strong towne of *Hamelen* upon the *Wefer*. He had a good mind (it appeared) to have lived with his Army till the Spring, in the *Lunenburgers* Countrey: but fore-dooming, by the preparations, that these winter-moonths might prove hotter to him then the Dog-dayes: that was the reason that he by *Hamelen* passed over the *Wefer*, to Quarter himselfe in a quieter Countrey.

And twas time for him, to get *Hamelen* upon his backe: upon which, his enemies would else have beene. Wee told you before of the comming of 300 Imperialists under 7 Ensignes out of *Damitz*: these, at this instant, comming out of *Heimstat* (where at his going to *Magdenburg*, we told you he had left them) towards *Hamelen* to joyne with *Pappenheim*; were met withall by a Partee of 150 Horse of Generall *Baviers*; and cut all in peeces, or made turne to the *Swedish* party. The reason that facilitated this deafeate, was, for that they thought themselves so farre from enemies, and so secure in that neerenesse to *Pappenheim*; that they marcht without burning matches. This towne of *Hamelen* is feated upon the Easterne and *Brunswicker* side, of the famous river of *Wefer*: betwixt

betwixt it and the mountaines. Pappenheims march thither,
lay directly to the Southward, through the Counties of *Hoy*
and *Schauenburg*. Passing the *Wefer* at this *Hamelen* to the
South, and *Westphalian* side of it : hee in the end of Januarie,
strikes up to the Westward, into the County of *Lemgow* :
for there and in the neighbour Counties of *Waldeck*, *Lippe*,
and *Ravensperg*, his purpose was to have lodged his divided
Armie : and to recreut it by the Spring time, with new le-
vies. He had not beene gone a full weeke, but that his Com-
missary-General *Lirchenfels*, sent him advise from *Hamelen* ;
that Duke *William Weymar*, the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and
the General *Banier*, were all conjoined about *Hildeheim*
and *Calenberg* : some of their troopes being within a dayes
march of *Hamelen*. This causes *Pappenheim* to counter-
march : and to draw out the garrison, which hee had lately
thrust into the towne of *Lemgow*, and to put it into *Ham-
len* to strengthen it. Leaving him, for the present, about
Hamelen, *Rintelin*, and those other many good townes upon
the Westerne banke of the *Wefer* : let us goe back, a while,
to bring his adversaries into the Cockpit to him. *Todt*, *Brem-
en*, *Lunenburg*, *William Weymar*, *Hessen*, and *Banier* : all
sixe were now comming against, or upon poore *Pappenheim* ;
and yet he shifted among all of them : yea not shifted only,
but gat now and then, the best of some of them.

The Generall Sir *John Banier*, after that *Magdenburg*
was taken some order for ; and a small garrison left to de-
fend and helpe the poore people, which from all the parts of
their banishment, began now to returne homewards to
their owne Citie : aduances to joyne himselfe with Duke
William of Saxon-Weymar. This Duke having Commissi-
on from the King, to recover the townes in that corner of
the *Lower Saxonie*, next unto his *Duringen*, *Magdenburg*,
the river *Wefer*, and the land of *Hessen* : sets out from *Er-
furt* about the tenth of Januarie, to march thitherward. His
course lay full Northward ; where first he comes to *Manf-
feld* : the chiese towne of the County of that name. Thence

Pappenheim
going to en-
quater his
Army beyond
the *Wefer*,

is sent for
backe to Ha-
melon.

Banier,

and *Dulcib
lam*.

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

(as I find) he marcht to *Quedlenburg*: an *Inpropiate Abby*, now belonging to a Lady *Abbesse*, a *Protestant*. Thence advances hee to *Osterwick* in the Bishoprick of *Halberstat*, 40 English miles due West of *Magdenburg*: and there, about the 22 of January, does the Generall *Banier* joyne with him. This *Osterwick* is just 20 English miles short of *Wolfenbuttle*, upon a branch of the same river with it: and was the Generall *Baniers* direct way, to goe after *Pappenheim*.

* The towne of *Hamelon*, belongs halfe unto the Duke of *Brunswick*, and halfe unto the Bishop of *Hildesteim*: but i f late dayes, wholly unto *Brunswick*: who also was Bishop of *Hildesteim* unill these last wars: in which it was wrung away fio the Duke, and given unto the Duke of *Brunswick*, lying upon the river *Rhema*, 14 or 15 English miles to the East of the river *Wefer*.) And *Cullen*: who is also Bishop of *Leige*, *Munster*, and *Paderborn*: Duke of *Westphalia*, *Angaria*, to the South-west-ward, to fetch the *Landgrave* of *Hessen* into the Country.

This Prince, having received intelligence, that the townes which hee had lately taken in the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, (as in the former *Story of his Actions* we have told you), did now upon his absence with the King of *Sweden*, and the against *Pappenheim* into *Brunswickland*, and towards him.

comming of *Pappenheim* into *Brunswickland*, and towards the *Wefer*, (on the West and South of which, *Paderborn* is) refuse

refuse their promised Contributions; hee in the end of December, taking leave of the King, makes that wayward with his Army, to recover them. Before the middle of Januarie, he had reprised *Warburg*: whereinto *Pappenheim* had newly thrust a garrison of nine hundred. The towne hee tooke by *Storme*; and all that resisted, died for it. Thence advances he to *Stadtogen*: which terrified by the former example, yeelds to him. And so does *Volckmarsen*; with some other Strengths thereabouts, of smaller consequence. Having againe thus scummed over the frontiers of *Paderborn*, hee passes the river *Weser* and besieges *Goettingen*; as we before told you. To the relieve of this towne, when *Pappenheim* Seme *Pappen-*
upon his comming to *Hamelen*, sent some troopes; they were *heimens detrac-*
defeated by some of Duke Williams and Baniers Horse Par- ted.
tees, that scoured up and downe the Country.

But *Pappenheim* was not long unrevenged for this: for that in the beginning of this February, having gotten notice by a Boore, how that Colonel *Laws* (*Laurence*) Cag a Swede, and Sergeant-Major-General; was with 3 new and weake Regiments of Dragooneers, of about 1500 men, lodged neere unto *Hoxter* and *Corvey* by the *Weser*; some 20 English miles to the South-of-*Hamelen*: he hastens thitherward to defeat them. He had before this, taken a Swedish Lieutenant, whom he kept prisoner with him. Being ready to march, in the morning before day-light; *Come, up*, (say the *Pappenheimers* to the Lieutenant) you must along with us, to the throat-cutting of your Countrymen. And indeede they were as good as their words: for that *Pappenheim* falling into their Quarters about 12 a clock, (which was the usuall houre, that hee still observed) hee cut in peeces the most of these Dragooneers, or forced them into the river and *Morasses*: where twas easie to kill them, that were first buried.

The Ensignes of these Dragooneers, *Pappenheim* made a glorious flourish withall, at his retурne againe to *Hamelen*: and all to magnifie his victory. Twas a notable ingenious crafty General, this *Pappenheim*: for having thus cleared off the Dragooneers.

Pappenheim
cuts off 1500
Swedes Dragooneers.

Hoxter; he would send his men along the *Weſer*-ſide, betwixt *Hamelev*, *Munden*, and *Hoxter*; who ſhould goe over the bridges, and ſo come round about againe. And thus did ſome one Regiment walke the round, two or three times over; and all this was to make ſhew, as iſ every one of these Regiments had beene new forces come to him, out of *Wad-deck*; and to make a noife of a great Arrie, among the Boores, that the *Swedifh* Generalls might heare of it, and be terrified.

But for all these cracks and flouriſhes, and his giving out himſelfe to be 10 or 12000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, when he was not above 10000 in all; yet durſt hee not appeare in *Campagnia* nor goe very farre from the banks of the *Weſer*: ſo that the *Swedifh* Generalls, went thorough, well enough, with their two ſieges.

Goflar taken
by Duke *Tilly*.
and *Bauer*;

The towne of *Goflar*, is Imperiall; and the Magistrate there, was altogether for the Emperor: other garrison then of the towne, I finde none in it. There needed no ſtreighter a ſiege, then the blocking firſt; and the preſenting of the groſſe of the Army before it, afterwards: for the Magistrate ſent to compound for 10000 Dollars with the Generalls; and received 1000 of Colonell *Mitzlaff*'s Regiment, in to them, for a garrison. From hence, goes the Army unto *Northeim*; a towne upon the river *Rhuma*, ſome 12 English miles ſhort of *Goettingen*.

with other
townes.

This is a towne of no garrison, nor reſiſtance: for that the Generall *Tilly* had heretofore diſmantled it; and ſlighted downe the Fortifications. This were they come unto before the 20 of this February. Then take they in *Northeim*; midway betwixt *Northeim* and *Goettingen*. In Quarters about this laſt towne, had the *Landgrave* laid this whole fortnight: not ſo much, to offer any battery to it; but ſo to block it up, that he might withall have an eye to *Pappenheim*. But now was the ſiege begun, in good earnest. Colonell *Carthaus* commanded in the towne, and his garrison was ſome 900: good ſtore of ſmall peeces he had beſides, with viſtualls and ammunition

ammunition to have held out longer. The *Swedish* bring forward 2 severall *Approaches*: and after 2 breaches, they cause the towne at both these places to be stormed. This whilest the *Swedish* are in good earnest about to doe, they cause false offers and *Scaladoes*, to be made shew of in other parts: *Goettingen* taken, the more to divert the defendants from their breaches. The towne is by force entred, and *Carrhass* with his Officers flinging downe their Armes, are taken prisoners: and the houses plundered. Here were above 100 Field pieces, *Mortars*, and Sling pieces, made prize of: 7000 weight of musket bullet; with powder, match, and ammunition proportionable. *Erickburg* Castle (a very strong place, belonging to the Bishoprick of *Hildefheim*, so named of Duke *Erick* of *Brunswick*, the builder of it) is likewise yeelded upon composition. For the too sudden rendring of this Fort, was Captaine *Wolff* of the Regiment of *Blanckhart*; by *Pappenheim* afterwards imprisoned. Upon the taking of this Castle, did the townes of *Peyne*, *Hastrode*, and *Duderstat*, upon the North side of the Bishopricke of *Hildefheim*, come in: which a Captaine of *Blanckharts* Regiment, now yeelded; thus all was cleare on that side, even to *Lunenburg*, *Bremen*, and the *Elb* stremme. By the winning of *Goettingen* also, are the other smaller townes about *Duderstat* brought in with little trouble, which lies betwixt that and *Duringen*. And thus was all that you see in the *Map* of *Brunswick* and *Magdenburg* (excepting *Duderstat* and the town of *Wolfenbuttle*) become *Swedish*: even from the *Upper Saxonie* on the East side; unto the river of *Wefer*, on the West side of the Country: as also North and South from *Duringen* unto *Lunenburg*, and the *Middle Marke* of *Brandenburg*.

And this was done by the 25 of our February: about which time Duke *William*, and the Generall *Banier*, were sent for unto the King of *Sweden*: even then upon his march into *Bavaria*. *Banier* (as I take it) set forward a little before Duke *William*: and hee recovered up unto the King, by the tenth of March following. The Duke staid something longer,

about

Duke *William*
and *Banier*,
sent for unto
the King.

about setting of the Country; and to bring off the *Landgrave v^t Hessen*: who being after their going, too weake to encounter *Pappenheim*; was enforced to turne over the *Weser* againe, into his owne Countrey. Here, though he recovered *Munden* and *Amoenburg*: yet now was *Pappenheim* loose againe: and hee not long after followed him into his owne *Hassia*.

In this meane time, had *Pappenheim* dispatched the Count of *Gronsfeld* and *Vander-Naerzen* Baron * of *Virmont*, (late Governoir of *Rostock*) unto the Elector of *Cullen*; for the speeding of those levyes and Commissions, which at his owne late comming from *Cullen*, had been left vnperfected. Hereupon, the Regiment of *Giles de Haes* going towards him; was beaten backe by the Boores of *Marckland*; who refusled him passage thorough their Countrey. However, some good Recreuts he obtained in the County of *Waldeck*, and the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*: as many as made him up an Army of 1000 marching men, compleatly.

Being thus both re-enforced, and let loose; hee in the beginning of March, puts into the field againe, to the Eastward of the *Weser*. About the tenth of the moneth, hee layes siege to *Ericksburg* Castle in the *Hunifruick*, before spoken of. This he tooke within a few dayes; and here found hee five faire Brasse pieces, which hee tooke along with him. Thence goes hee to *Eymbeck*, a good towne some 3 Dutch leagues or 15 English, (for the leagues be long in this Countrey) to the East of *Ericksburg*, and by the river *Rhuma*. Of this towne, hee demands admission; and provisions for his Armie: both which, the Burgers upon confidence of assistance from the Duke of *Lennburg*: at first denied him. But perceiving their Enemies to be neerer then their facours; they thought better upon a bad motion, and accepted of as good as 2 of his Regiments: being glad, besides, to redeeme their formall deniall, by a ransome of 20000 Dollars. The Forces that *Pappenheim* now put into *Eymbeck*, were 5 Companies of *Gratz* his Regiment: 120 of *Goltz* his people:

* He was now
pistold by Co-
lonell Ouer-
lock, upon a
quarell.

Pappenheim
comes abroad
againe;

and recovers
Ericksburg,

and *Eymbeck*.

people: with some Commanded men of the Count of *Gronsfelds*, come out of *Wolfenbuttle*, and commanded by Captaine *Gries*. This was done about the 18 or 20 of our March. Till the money were paid, he caused some of the richer Burghers, to follow his Army: and a good part of their Ordnance, Victuals, and Ammunition, he sends upwards into *Wolfenbuttle*, for the strengthening of that, and the Baron *Gleiner* in it: for that he feared it might shortly be besieged, by *Todt* and *Lunenburg*.

And now turnes he due Northward, into the Bishoprick of *Hildestein*. In the way thitherward, hee defeats some *Hessian* troupes, which the *Landgrave* had left about *Budeborg*: a little short of *Hildestein*; which shoulde have come to have strengthened *Eymbeck*. The Citie of *Hildestein* seeing him comming; admit of a garrison of 1000 *Lunenburghers* (of *Petans* and *Marrads* Regiments, as I take it:) by which meanes that towne was secured, and his summons, utterly denied. However, the weaker townes in the Bishoprick, he does what he pleases withall; and makes use of what provisions, Duke *William* and *Baxier* had left unto the people. The good towne of *Hanover* upon the river *Leine*, and marches in the Dukedom of *Brunswick*; leagues to the Northwest thorough of *Hildestein*; entertaines 800 *Lunenburghers*, and puts it selfe *Hildestein*, into a posture of resistance. *Goslar* having 1000 of *Mitzlaffs* people in it; prepares also for opposition: so that there was no going that way into the Bishoprick of *Halberstadt*.

The strong towne of *Zell* upon the river *Aller*, in the Dukedom of *Lunenburg*; was a peece of too hard a digestion, to be suddenly swallowed: and therefore hee contentes himselfe with a bit by the way at *Borchdorff*, some two *Lunenburg* leagues, and a halfe to the Northeast of *Hanover*, to *Zellward*. A Partee of the *Pappenheimers*, here fall upon the towne; and upon Lieutenant-Colonell *Ruswurm*, with five of his Companies in it. *Ruswurm* is taken with diverse of his men; and some Ensignes: 50 men slaine upon the place; the rest routed; and the towne plundered. Thence passes he along

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

along the Dukedom of *Lunenburg*, by his old Quarters at *Betterlo*: beyond which, hee passes the river *Aller*, leaving *Zell* upon the right hand of him. But hee forgat not by the way, to pay himselfe some of those 12000 Dollars monethly contribution; which the Duke of *Zella-Lunenburg*, at his former being in these parts had promised him: as Page 117 of this *Fourth Part*, we have told you.

And now is his purpose wholly for the deliery of the towne of *Stoade*, by the *Elbs* side in the Bishoprick of *Bremen*: his owne Uncle *Bicknicker* (as I heare) was now Governor in the towne; who with almost (if not full) 4000 men, were by this end of this April, blocked up by *Otto* (or *Achatius*) *Todt*; and Generall Major *Lohansen*, with the *Lunenburgers* forces. But before we speake of this service, let us leave our *Appenheim* upon his march thitherwards: and goe backe to fetch up *Todts* Story, to shew how he came into these quarters.

General *Todt*
comes into *Lunenburg-land*.

Wee told you Page 106 of this Booke, of his comming to the relief of the Bishoprick of *Bremen*: and hither let us now fetch up himselfe and forces. His march from *Wismar* which he last tooke (by which all the Dukedom of *Mecklenburg* was cleared) lay to the Northeast, to the *Elbward*, quite thorow the said Duchie. On the *Mecklenburger* side of the *Elb*, towards *Hamborow*, is there a little cantlet of land, called the land of *Sachsen* or *Saxonland*: the Countrey (as I take it) of the Dukes of *Saxon Lawenburg*. In this land, were *Todts* Regiments a while enquaerted: which staid not long there: but passed about *Lawenburg* over the *Elb*, and were drawne to *Bardwick* in *Lunenburg-land*; *Todt* himselfe going into *Lunenburg*; about 10 or 12 English miles from *Lawenburg*, and 4 or 5 from *Bardwick*.

His Army consisted of *Swedes* and *Mecklenburgers*, and of some *English* and *Scottish* Regiments: Duke *George* of *Lunenburg*'s men, after a while comming also to him.

Of Sir *Thomas Conways* Regiment, himselfe, his Lieutenant-Colonell *Steward*, and 300 souldiers, were upon the fifth

fift of November cast away on the coast of Norway : the Sir Thomas Con-
other five Colours with about 700 men ; arrizing upon the ^{way} drowned,
27 of the same moneth , at Warnemund by Rostock . The
Sergeant-Major over these five Companies , was Capitaine
Thomas Grove, who now commanded them . And all these
about Christmas after, had order to march to Wismar . That
being rendred (as Page 105 wee have told you) Tode and
Lohansen with the Swedes and Mecklenburgers ; (in all not
above 4000 at the most) made hast towards Lauenburg on
the Elb , some 50 English miles distant from Wismar . On
Newyeares day at night , the five English Colours (who
marcht by themselves) were at Sarnien in Mecklenburg land .
Wednesday January the 4, they marcht and met the three
Scottish Regiments . Thence on Sunday to Hagenow, whence
to Boitzenberg on the Elb , which river they croft at Lauen-
burg . Thence went they to be enquaerted with the Army
in Bardwick ; a very fine towne (and sometimes a rich one)
before spoken of . To this towne came some of the Lunen-
burgers forces .

About the time that Sir Thomas Conwayes five Ensignes
came to Warnemund , did 5 of Sir Frederick Hamiltons Co-
lours land also . They were Scottish and Irish people: amongst
which, was 1 Sir Fredericks owne Company , 2. Cuninghams ,
Lieutenant-Colonell : 3. Troopes, Sergeant-Major : 4. Gibsons ,
and 5 Flemmings , Captaines . The other 4 Ensignes that be-
longed to this Regiment , were landed other where , and
came not till Summer into the Army . The Lord Forbes had
also his Scottish Regiment there : but himselfe had beene ta-
ken prisoner , as hee was comming betwixt Luckstadt and
Hamborow , and carried into Wolfenbuttle , where hee yet is .
Neither English nor Scottish Regiments , had any fift Armes ,
as yet : which in plaine English phrase , is : They were not yet
fully Armed .

However, half armed , or unarmed , as they were , Sergeant-
Major Groves with his English , and the 2 Scottish Regiments ,
were after some 16 or 20 dayes lying about Bardwick ,

R r

com-

Sir Frederick
Hamiltons , and
the Lord For-
bes Regi-
ments joyne
with the Ar-
mie .

*Boxtehude be-
leagued,*

*especially by
those of our
nation.*

*Todt is sent for
away by the
King, and Sir
Alexander Lefly
comes to the
Army.*

commanded towards *Boxtehude*. The towne is belonging to the Archbishop of *Bremen*; and lyes upon the small river *Effa*, within 4 *English* miles of the borders of *Lunenburg*: the *Elb* it selfe being within eight miles to the North; and *Hamborow* almost as neere it, to the Eastward. Tis a stronger towne then *Stoade*; and there was a good garrison now in it; a place besides it is, of very good consequence; for that it is the Passe into that which they call the *Old land*, in which *Stoade* standeth. The Generall *Todt* with the rest of the Army, lay now at *Hornburg*; a pretty *Fleck* or market towne, some leaven *English* miles to the Northwest of *Boxtehude*, that was now beleagred. At this *Hornburg* was the *Hoff-Quarter* (or Head Quarter) for that this is also another Passe, into the *Old land* aforesaid: by which, *Stoade* was on that side also streightned.

The *English* and *Scottish* lay some tenne dayes at first, an *English* mile off from *Boxtehude*; with unfixt Armes, for a great part, and without powder or bullets. After this, they were sent to lye at a place called the *Old Cloyster*, which is within a quarter of a mile of the towne, to the Southward. Some few *Dutch* companies there were, enquaerted upon the *Old land's* side betwixt the towne and the *Elb*: but they were the *English* and *Scottish* that had the most to doe in the beleagring.

In the time of this siege, upon *Doctor Salvius* advertisements before given to the King, of the Generall *Todts* misbehaviour in the Army; had his Majestie sent away for him; and Sir *Alexander Lefly* was commanded from the Lord *Marquesse Hamiltons* Army, by the King of *Sweden*'s Commission; to come and take charge of *Todts* Army, with the Style of Sergeant Major General. Sir *Alexander* being now come to the *Old Cloyster*, (aforenamed) and going about to take view of *Boxtehude*; within 3 or 4 dayes after his first comming; was shott, from the towne, into the instep of the left foot. He being thus disabled for the commanding of the Army, and carried off, unto *Hamborow*; *Todt*, for the time, was

was to doe all againe : *Lohausen* (a Colonell with one legge) who being
shot,
being then made Sergeant Major Generall. And this order
continued, till that *Wolff Hendrick Bandiffin* (native of *Lu-*
sacia, and commonly called *Banditz*) was sent downe to be
Lieutenant Generall ; and *Todt* now going away, Duke
George of Lunenburg became Generall of the Armie. But
Boxtehude was first taken ; and *Pappenheim* gone againe, ere
Bandiffin came to the Army. *Bandiffin* is sent
to take charge
of the Army.

To retурне to the siege. There were 3 severall Batteries by this time, gotten up against the towne: whereof 2 upon the *Old Cloyster* side, and a third upon the other: from all which the *Swedish* Canon plaide every day into the Citie. Nor were the besieged, altogether idle. Having advertisement by the Boores, that the *English* and *Scottish* Regiments, were not halfe armed, and but raw soildiers; 200 of the towne Horsemen, one night sallyed out upon their Quarters. They fell out, with a very great clamour and noise making: and were come within twenty paces of their very Guards. Those of our-nation that had Armes, stood their ground: and two troopes of Horse were quickly at hand to second them. Tis said, that some of the *Irish* ventured upon the sallyers horsemen, with their skeynes or swords only: and did some peece of execution upon them. However, the leader of the sallyers was there shot dead, and fell; his men forced to retire: being after some skirmishing, beaten into the very Ports of their Citie. Another night, they fell out of the towne againe; and set fire upon the *Scottish* Guards: and had they adventured but a little further, they had put the Quarters into a terrible confusion. But even now they were perswaded in againe.

A sally repelled.

The siege went on in the meane time, and the Canon from all 3 Batteries did their duriés : faggots and storming ladders were also made shew of; nor yet would these offers fright out the besieged. Full 3 weekes, there was misery enough endured by those of our nation without the towne: about the end of which time, upon the fourth of March; the
B. 5. besieged

*Exhibide
yelled.*

*The English
being put into
the towne,
were by Tode
commanded
out againe.*

*Stoade blockt
up.*

besieg'd (as it were for pity of our Countrymen) yeelded, and marcht upon good conditions into Stoade. *Boxtobade* being thus taken, our *English* having done the chiefe of the service there, were offered to garrison the towne: which they gladly enough accepting of, the 5 Colours were put into it. Here lay they 3 weekes: Sergeant-Major *Grove* being Governor. The Generall *Tode*, having a purpose to put in a *Swede* (a servant of his) to be Governor over *Groves* head: he being a high spited Gentleman, that could not endure to be rewarded with such an affront for all his services: the *English* Colours were commanded out; and a *Swedish* Lieutenant-Colonell (not *Todes* man) put in to be Governor, with 5 Ensignes.

Thence were the *English* sent to block up *Stoade*; about which, the rest of the Army were quartered up and downe in Dorps, the snow not then suffering them to lye in open Quarters. But this served the turne well enough: *Todes* purpose being, but to block it up at a distance: victualls were so scarce with him, that he should not otherwise have beeene able to have kept the Army together, in one leaguer. This towne is seated upon a small riveret called the *Zwing*, about 2 *English* miles from the *Elb*: a fonce being betwixt it and the Citie. The land on both hands of it, is low morasses & Causeyes running all along thorough them. The countrey on the North of it, is the *Keydinger land*, (vulgarly called the Land of *Kayne*) and that part to the East and Southward, is called the *Old land of Stoade*. There was a garrison of almost (if not altogether) 4000 men in the towne: *Pappenheims* owne kinsman being the Governor. Here had the Besiegers exercise enough: the Besieg'd dayly falling out into their Quarters. Sometimes did they affront their Quarters, with mighty Partees, of a full thousand: otherwhiles, with 2 or 300-Horsmen, or more, with muskettiers behind them. Thus would they give a *Camisado*, beat and fire a Quarter, now and then, and so in againe, never standing to it to make good any thing. And thus went on the busynesse, all this moneth,

moneth, and the next : *Tods* having neither purpose nor power, to attempt more upon the towne ; the garrison (plainely) being neere as strong as his Army : especially after the taking of *Bremersford*, which next followed.

In the end of April, whilst *Stoade* was blockt ; was this towne of *Bremersford* besieged by a Regiment of the Arch-bishop of *Bremens*. At this towne, whilst the Bishop had it ; was his Palace and place of Residence. The besieged were hard put to it for provisions ; for all which they had taken a desperate oath, that they would never yeeld the towne, but to the Kings Army. The Generall *Tods* being advertised of this resolution ; sends away Sir *Frederick Hamiltons* Regiment, under the command of his Lieutenant Colonell *Coxingham*, to take in the Citie. The besieged no sooner saw his Colours flye before their Walls ; but they presently entered into a Parly. The *Bremers* Colonell hereupon, being jealous of his honour, privatly and presently, made tender unto them of better conditions : whereupon they immediatly concluded, and marcht out every way like fouldiers into *Stoade*.

No sooner was this done, but there came newes instant-
ly unto *Bremersford*, that *Pappenheim* with 9 or 10000 Foot,
and 5000 Horse, was comming, and within 10 hours
march of them : and indeed this towne was directly in his
way, to *Stoade*-ward. Command was now sent from the
Generall, that the Regiment should hasten away to *Boxte-
hude*, and deliver up *Bremersford*, to the *Bremers* Colonell.
The Regiment being most *Irish* and *Scots*, used to wading
and night-marching : came flouncing thorough the Bogges
and By-places, and recovered safely into *Boxtehude* ; notwithstanding the Enemies drummes, were all the night
within hearing.

This was about the end of our April. *Pappenheims* march
was from *Hamelon* and *Nyenburg* upon the *Wefer*, along to
the Northward, thorow the Bishoprick of *Ferben*, and the
edge of *Lunenburg*, and then betweene the Fennes of *Bre-
merland*,

Pappenheim enters *Stoade*.
marlal. Leaving the river *Zwing* upon his right hand, and crowding in betwenee *Bremersford* and *Harsfeld* cloyster; hee thrust himselfe into *Stoade* Citie. Hee was, indeede, though not so many as he gave out himselfe for, yet much about 10000 Horse and Foot: which with the Towne-garrison, was farre too strong for *Todts* Armie. Hee therefore now gave way to him: marching to *Boxtelnde* and thorow it, to get all his owne Army to a head for resistance. *Pappenheim* was in *Stoade*, before the *Swedes* imagined hee could have beeene: himselfe giving them the first assurance of his being there, by the shooting off (in a military bravery) all his Ordnance.

Cuts off
*Lefsys Regi-
ment.*

He being now in *Stoade*, had the passage into the *Keydingerland*, (to the North of him) open. There was the Regiment of Major Generall *Lefsys*, and 4 Companies of Colonel *Morrees* of *Obsdell*, enquarterred, to block up *Stoade* on that side. Upon these now falls *Pappenheim*, cuts them off all; takes 19 Colours, and Major *Lefsys* owne Ensigne amongst them: Of those that were taken prisoners; Officers were made prisoners to Officers, Captaines to Captaines, and so forth: and notwithstanding that the *Pappenheimer*s had spare horses enow, (for that they tooke a breed of Mares out of the Land) yet made they their prisoners to trott on foot at their stirrups, like their Horse boyes.

Offers to force
Todts Army.
Now did Pappenheim cast about to get into the *Old land*; both for the pillage of the Countrey, and to get the *Elb* cleare, if it were possible: and withall to exercise *Todts* people, whilst hee provided to bee going. The Boores being now up in their owne defence, about the sconce; and some Dragooneers and other souldiers being amongst them: *Pappenheim* supposed the action more fasseable, to beat thorow *Hornburg* and *Todts* Army there: then thorow the Boores, *Causeyes*, and *Morasses*. This *Hornburg*, though it were well seated for a Passe, yet was it but a small *Fleck*, untill some new cast up Workes, had now well fortified the passage. Upon this, now falls *Pappenheim*; and upon this he so thunders

thunders with his Ordnance, that hee beateth all downe before him. And yet here was good opposition made unto him, and by some Scottish too. of Sir Frederick Hamiltens Regiment: amongst whom, Captaine Gibsen was said to have behaved himselfe bravely: Here was Major Generall Lobansens horse shot under him. The Generall *Todt* perceiving the towne not to be maintained, gives order to haue fire put to it, and retreated with his Armie to a great work he had betweene the towne and the *Old land*: lying upon a water. This was maintained by a *Forlorne hope*, left for the defence of it, untill the Army retreated thorow the *Old land* to *Boxtehude*-ward. This done, the *Forlorne hope* came off safely. The towne of *Boxtehude* being not large enough to entertaine *Todts* whole Armie, hee marcht thorow it, and laid them in Dorps, till hee had occasion to draw them to a head againe.

Pappenheim being thus defeated of his passage into the *Old land* by *Hörnburg*, and put into *Stoade* againe: hee the third of May forced his way thorow, by the sconce aforesaid. There his *Crabass* were seene prancing and pricking up and downe, along the *Causeyes*, comming almost to *Boxtehude*. There being but small relief for them to bee had (*Todt* had taken order for that) they set fire upon the Countrey. Just as highway theives will beat those travailers, that carry no money about them. But all this, could he make nothing of: *Todt* had all the Countrey about him, the *Elb* and the way to it was shut up; so that there was no relief that way to be comue at. The towne of *Stoade*, was not to be maintained by him, because his Army could not be maintained by it. The way back againe was full of Passes and Streightnesse, so that there hee might be coopt up and starved, should he stay so long till the power of the Country could have time to come downe upon him. And especially was there a Passe at an old mill, by the Fennes and the *old cloyster*: and there, had *Todt* had the stomack to it, he might have hazarded to have kept *Pappenheim* in the Coope, a fatning.

He gets into
the *Old Land*.

But is faine to
quitt that.

fating. But hee durst not, hee was farre too weake : loath to hazard the Army, and his owne credit, which hee had gotten in Mecklenburg-land : for that *Pappenheim* being made desperate by stapping up, must needs have strugled like a tyed Tyger, to have gotten loose againe. What could the old Shepheard doe with the Lyon, that kil'd his Lambs, after he had gotten him into his house , and thea knew nor how to tye him ? So was it now with *Tods* : for whom it was farre better to let *Pappenheim* come out, and be lo rid of him : who he was very sure, could not stay long by him, in a devoured Country. Some blame *Tods* for this ; affirming, that he might have pinfolded *Pappenheim*, and have starved him : though others labour to excuse him, by the former reasons. However, *Tods* staid not with the Army, after this, but was commanded away to *Rostock* : and so to the Kings Armie.

Pappenheim not able to stay in *Stoade*, provides for his departure : resolving to take the garrison , the baggage, victuals, and ammunition out of it : for which (as at his coming to *Magdenburg*) he had brought a many empty waggons along withhim. Being ready to leave the towne, hee calls the Magistrates before him, and demands 6000 Markes contribution of them. They going about to levie the monies, came againe and tendered him 5000 : with a solemn protestation, that the whole estate of the towne, was able to bring up the summe no higher. *Pappenheim* seeing their poverty, and their good wills ; nobly delivers them their monies backe againe , with the Keyes of their Citie : onely exacting these two conditions from them : first, that they should looke well to the sick and wounded souldiers, which hee left behind him : and secondly, that they should keepe the Citie, 3 dayes after his going. And this said, he the sixt of May, finally quits the towne ; desperately (shall I call it) or valiantly ? in the night adventuring along by the Old cloyster neere *Buxehude* : even thorow these dangerous Passes, and close by *Tods* Army. Being quietly let goe, hee retires

and *Stoade*
after i.

Pappenheims
Noblenesse to
those of *Stoade*
Citie.

retires first to Rodenberg, and so to Fermen, and thence the hee goes to way that he came, into Brunswickland. All this had he done wards wolfen
bravely.

He was, indeed, at Stoade, in some distresse, especially of victuals: there lay a Swedys ships in the Elb, right against the mouth of the Zwing; to stoppe up all provisions from comming from Hamborow or Luckstade, by water. And yet was Pappenheim straightlier blockt up, then that; hee wanted money to have bought any provisions, that might have beene brought to him: enough, I meane, to keepe the town withall. Going out of Stoade, hee carried all the course, black, Rusck bread, that hee could get: yea, and tooke the very lead off some Churches, to make Provant bullets of. Some Peeces of Ordnance hee tooke from off the walls, to carry with him: blew up the fide of a Port, and away hee went. Whether he had made any private overturke of delivering Stoade (for money) unto the King of Denmarkes hands, I know not, though I have read of it: and of some letters besides, which the *Syndicus* or *Recorder* of Stoade should be taken with, as he was going to Luckstar; whioh should containe some secrets of correspondency entertained by the King of Denmark, that way. Those that write so, affirme this private correspondency to have beene begunne, preffently after Pappenheims comming out of Magdenburg: and that to be the neerer to put men into Stoade, the King of Denmark should have surprised Friburg upon the Elb, by some forcesent thither out of Luckstar. Sure it is, that the Danes did intercept this Friburg, and that the Bishop of Bremen (in jealousie least his Coadjutor the Prince of Denmark, should becom his supplanter) had sent the French Colonell Dumeni from about Fermen (where hee then lay) either to regrise it, or to keepe the Danish forces from comming further. This Dumeni (a Colonell of Dragooneers) was the man, that had done most in these lands, before Todts comming: and hee now going towards Friburg with the Bishop of Bremens forces, did (as I finde it written) kill

some 40 *Danish*, and take 160 prisoners, that fallyed out of the Castle upon him. However, March the thirteenth, following, and in the night, did 2000 *Bremers* people, in white Frocks or shirts, give a *Camisado* upon the Castle: which they stormed, and killed 300 *Danes* in it. This was thought likely enough, to have made a breach betwixt the Kings of *Sweden* and of *Denmark*: as if these *Danes* had beeene slaine by the *Swedes*. Some will also make *Pappenheim* so witty, as to contrive the *Danish* surprising of *Friburg*: foredooming, that the *Swedes* would never suffer them to enjoy it, but rather goe by the eares with them. But the Generall *Zoet* excused himselfe from having any hand in it, but that it was onely done by the Bishop of *Bremen*: and so *Pappenheim* fine plot failed. He being in distresse in *Ssade*, and not able to put it over to *Denmark* (which he had rather have done, then the *Swedes* or *Bremers* should have had it) is faine to leave it, as we told you.

Being thus gone cleare off: I wonder (saies hee to Major *Zelzer* Ancient, which he had prisoner with him) that your men follow me not? were I behinde them, as they are now behind me, I would bring up this *Rere* for them; I would fetch them up, to die for it. His order was, that if any of his men strangled upon the march, but a musket shot, he was sure to have horse sent after him; and either kil'd or hanged: and this to prevent running away, or giving intelligence to the Enemie.

Ssade being thus deserted, Colonell *Crichton* a *Germane*, was put into it with his weake Regiment: being not above 160 men, under 7 Ensignes. And the substance of these Relations, concerning *Zoet* and *Pappenheim*: (with some of those that follow) have I learned from divers Gentlemen present in the action: and I hope I have made right collectiōas from them.

In the beginning of May, and whilst *Pappenheim* was about *Ssade*, came Duke *Francis Albert* of *Saxon Lawen-*
berg, with a weake Regiment (one of Horic and another of
Foot)

A Swedish garrison put into
Ssade.

Foot) to joyn with the Swedes about *Boxthude*. And now after *Pappenheim* going from *Stoade*, went the General *Todt* away, and *Wolf Hendrick Von Bandiffen*, tooke the charge of the Army, as Lieutenant Generall to Duke *George of Lauenburg*: whom in *Todt's* place, the King had made Generall. The Duke himselfe, was also now neere at hand with his forces: who joyned with *Bandiffen* a little after this, about *Hanover* and *Hildesheim*. His Commission was, to succeede *Todt*; to cleare the streames of the *Elt* and *Wefer*; with the townes of the *Lower Saxonie*: towards the *Wefer*, therefore, (after *Pappenheim*) was the march directed.

*Bandiffen takes
charge of the
Army.*

Bandiffen advanced from about *Stoade* and *Boxthude*, due Southerly unto *Bremersford*: and from thence to the towne of *Bremen* upon the *Wefer*, about sixe *Westphalian* leagues, or 30 *English* miles from *Bremersford* aforesaid. Thorow *Bremen* by the way, I heare that *Dummen* was sent to take in *Wildbusen*, in the land of *Oldenburg*, some 15 or 16 *English* miles to the South West of *Bremen*. Thence the march lay along the *Wefer*, into the Bishoprick of *Ferden*: within 2 *English* miles of which town, the Army encamped. Here they staid about three weekes, or till the beginning of June. *Pappenheim* was not yet farre enough off, for them to goe faster: whom though they followed, to see that he should take as few townes as might be, and not fall thorow *Brunswick* and into *Duringen*; yet were they not over-hasty to come too neare him: for besides, that they were too weake for him; they had not Commission (perchance) to fight with him. In this time was there a Bridge laid over the *Wefer*, for that they thought to have besieged *Nienburg*. But this purpose altered. Thence goes *Bandiffen* along to the South East-ward, betwixt the rivers of *Wefer* and the *Leine*, which falls into *Aire* the river of *Ferden*. On this *Leine*, is the good towne of *Hanover*, about 40 *English* miles from *Ferden*. Hither, now comes the Duke of *Lunenburg*, with about 5000 men in 4 Regiments; whereof one of Horse and another of Foot, were his owne: the other's of Foot, were led

He follows
Pappenheim.

Lunenburg
comes to be
General.

led by *Petan* and *Marrad* (or such like names) both Colonells. So soone as the Duke of *Lunenburg* was commett to command in chiefe; the Duke of *Saxon*, *Lauenburg* tooke occasion to leave the Armie, and went up (after a while) to the King of *Sweden*. To this *Hanover*, came Sir *John Cawell* also; with Commission from the King of *Sweden*, to be Colonell over Sir *Thomas Conways* Regiment: the 5 colours whereof, were by this time wasted away to three hundred. These were ioyned (by and by) with Sir *Fredericke Hamilton*, 5 Ensignes: which two Regiments, from henceforth marched in one *Brigade* together.

Thence goes the Army to the good towne of *Hildestein*, the chiefe of the Bishoprick of that name: 5 hours journey on foot from *Hanover*, to the Southward, and upon the river *Innerste*, which falls into the *Leine*. About this, the Armie Quartered themselves in Dorps: till the towne had agreed with the Duke of *Lunenburg*. The agreement was soon made; for that the towne having 1000 of his men before, was now very carious to the Army. The *Lutherans* in the towne, condescended to give him 10000 Dollars contribution; and out of the *Papists* were 30000 wrung; which they paid one part in plate, and 2 in ready money. With this contribution, had the whole Army a moneths pay, (or *Lendings*) part in plate, and part in money: as the others gave it. The towne also entertained the remainder of the 2 *Lunenburgers* Regiment of *Petan* and *Marrad*, into their Citie. They sent the Armie Provant Bread and Beere also: with many other curtesies.

The day after the Army came to lie by the towne, did the Duke of *Lunenburg* take in *Steyrwohl Castle*; a good strong peece about an English mile to the North of *Hildestein*. *Pappenheim's* leaguer, was now within some few miles of *Lunenburg*; so that there were daily skirmishes betwixt commanded Partees of both Armies. And now let us fetch up *Pappenheim*. He, when in his march off from *Stonde* he was come as far as *Ferden*: sent unto *Zell* in the Dukedom of *Lunenburg*,

nenburg, where he heard the States of the Low Saxonie, to be then assembled. Part of their Consultations, then were; how to continue their wars, for the clearing of their *Circle* frō the Imperialists, to reconcile the differences betwixt the King of Denmark, and the Hamburgers ; and to confirme the King of Swedens Commission unto the Duke of Lunenburg and Ban-

Pappenheim
sends to terri-
fie the States
of the Lower
Saxony.

dissen ; for the Generallship and Lieutenant-Generalship of their *Circle*. To them Pappenheims message now was ; An advice to returne unto the Emperors devotion, and to break off with Sweden and with Lunenburg : to relieve his Army, and to caſthiere their forces : otherwife, he would come upon them with his whole Army, and force them to it.

But notwithstanding that they either ſent him no answer, or a deniall ; he could not now ſtay to make good his threaſnings : for that hee was by the Elector of Cullen ſolicited, to make haſt againſt Clein Iacob the Landgrave of Hefſens Lieutenant, who had lately taken Brilon and ſome other places, in Culens Dukedom of Westphalia : where Boenigkauſen was too weake to reſift him.

At him, now goes Pappenheim : for now layes he a bridge over the *Weſer*, which he ſtill carried about with him. Leaſing then the Count of *Gronsfeld*, with part of the Army, about the *Weſer*, neere Hamelen & thoſe parts : himſelfe with the residue, paſſes towards *Hefſen*, where hee first recoveres Munden upon the river *Werra*, from the *Landgrave*.

Thence falls he like a ſtorme of Haile and Lightning, into the *Landgraviate* ; with fire and ſword deſtroying all before him. Up the river *Werra* hee goes ; to *Witzenhausen* He falls into first, and then to *Allen-Dorff*: ſpoyle all in the way, and plundering the 2 townes. Then turnes hee Westward, towards the towne of *Cassel* ; the place of reſidence for the *Landgrave* : whose Father (the good Prince Maurice) being dead about our *Lady day* before, and his active ſonne *William*, now in Mourning : gave Pappenheim the eaſier opportunity, to take him unprovided. But he, now, ſeeing occaſion of more ſorrow, changed his mourning *Blacks*, into

a black Corflet; and armes for resistance. The Boores of *Hessia*, (becomme halfe fouldiers by these continued warres) they start up too, and stop up the passages of the Countrey. *Pappenheim*, Vancouiers making a shew of themselves, before the very gates of *Cassel*: were there encountered with a Horse-Regiment of Colonell *Davicks*; that now sallyed out upon them. The *Pappenheimers* had made their brave, so neere to the very towne: that the Ordnance from the walls, were let flye amongst them. Here tis said, that Colonel *Lohn* that brought them on, was taken prisoner, and some do Horslemen slaine upon the place: the rest being faine to retreat from *Dalmisk*; to whom they left one Cornet behind them. *Pappenheim* (I heare) had promised the Archduchesse *Isabella*, that he would take this *Cassel*: but was faine now to goe without it: the towne being one of the strongest of all *Germanye*.

All this had *Pappenheim* done, to make a diversion: and to oblige the *Landgrave* to recall *Clein Isaac*, out of the *Elector* of *Cullens* Countreys of *Paderborn* and *Westphalia*. He had purposed, also, to have fallen into *Dwingen*; which at *Allen-Dorff* he was very neere unto: the *Werra*, East and West, dividing this *Hessen* and *Dwingen*. But both these purposes, he was now diverted from; by a Currier received from the Count of *Gronsfeld*, concerning *Lauenburgs* and *Bandissins* falling into the lands of *Brunswick* & *Hildeheim*. This made him *faces about to the right*; and to goe towards *Volckmarßen*: which the *Landgraves* Forces had also in possession. To believe this, 14 *Hessian* troopes of Horse, being now sent; and having taken up their Quarters upon a woodie hill neere the town, in the night time to slip into it: they were discovered and surprised, by the *Pappenheimers*. Of these, were 200 said to be slaine, and as many prisoners: with the losse of 9 Ensignes, 5 Field-peeces, and all their baggadge. The towne was yeelded presently upon it; after which, *Pappenheim* goes to *Warburg* upon the river *Dymel* and frontiers of *Paderborn*; 6 *English* miles to the North of

After which
having t^eken
Volckmarßen.

Volck-

Volkmarßen. Hither now calls he those new Forces, which had beene levyed for him in that Bishoprick: with the Countys of *Lippe* and *Ravensberg*. Thence in company of the Count of *Gronsfels* (for whom he had laid a bridge over the *Weſer*, betwixt *Hamelon* and *Hexter*) passes he the river *Weſer* againe: with 55 Horse Cornets (say ſome) advanc-
ing directly towards the Duke of *Lunenburgh*; at that time about *Hildeſheim*. About fourre or fixe English miles from this towne, and as much from *Kalenberg*, he about mid June ſits downe with his Army, to expect the next benefit of occaſion.

He goes againſt
the Duke of
Luxenburg.

The *Lunenburgers* ſuspecting, that *Pappenheim* would ſhortly viſite them in their Quarters: they after 4 or 5 dayes drew out of the villages, and entrenched upon the Scuthern ſide of *Hildeſheim*. And indeed *Pappenheim* was not long a comming. For *Lunenburg* having ſent the Swedish Colonell *Lau Cag* with 1400 men, to take in *Kalenberg*: *Pappenheim* diſplanted him. This towne is ſeated upon the river *Leine*, about an houre and halffes going to the West of *Hildeſheim*. Whilſt *Cag* was here buſie about his Approaches, *Pappenheim* marcht, and came towards him: whereupon he was faime to breake up his ſiege, & make his Retreat to *Hildeſheim*: ſo that the towne was not taken, till after *Pappenheim* going out of the Country. This was done, about the middle of June: at which time there were daily ſkirmiſhes betweene the Armies, the *Lunenburgers* looking every day for *Pappenheim* to come to beat their Quarters. Now was the Armie muſtered, and reducted; ſome weake Colours broken, and put to make others stronger: divers Regiments were also put together, to make one compleat Brigade of. The whole Foot forces, were after this, drawne out in *Battagliia*: where there were found 6 compleat Brigades or Battalions. These were marshald (as a Herald *Lunenburgh* would ſay) 3, 2, and 1: or into a *Van*, a *Reere*, and a *Reserne*. In the *Van* or *Front*, were 3 Battalions. First, the Duke of *Lunenburghs* owne Brigade, which had the Right Wing of the Army drawne into *Battagliia*.

The three : Secondly *Lohausens*, which made the *Battle*, And thirdly Colonell *Grave* (or some such name) a *Swede* who had the *left wing*. In the *Reere*, were onely 2 *Brigades*. The first which made the *Right Wing*, was of the *Scottish* nation ; made up of the 3 weake Regiments of my Lord *Forbes*, Colonell *Morro's*, and Colonell *Robert Leftyes* ; who commanded it. In the *left Wing* of the *Reere*, was the *Brigade* made up of the *English* and *Scottish* nations ; under Sir *Frederick Hamilton* and Sir *John Caswell*. The *Reserve*, or *Brigade* behinde all : was commanded by the *Swedish* Colonell *Cag* aforesaid. All these, together with the *Horse* (not now drawn up) might really make up some 9000 men: which though they were able to march no more, yet they went for 16000. This is the *Ariithmetick of the Warres* : to use *Subtraction* from the country people, and *Multiplication* of their owne numbers.

June the twenty eighth being Thursday, the *Alarme* was brought into the *Lunenburgers* leaguer : *Arme, Arme Papenheim is comming*. That night hee came indeede, to the other side of *Hildebrim*. At this time, the *English* and *Scottish* *Brigade* had the *Waich*, or *Guard*: and it was verily beleev'd, hee would have fallen into the Trenches. But this he did not : for having cast up some *Batteries*, in the hill of *Morisberg*; and mounted about 8 peeces, close by the towne: hee did no more then onely give them 20 or 30 *Canons* shot, without attēpting any further. With all this, he did not much more hurt, then kill 2 *Hogs* in the street; as the townsmen confessed. But they having their *Ordnance* ready mounted; thundered so upon his *Pioners*, and those about the *Ordnance*; that they kill'd him 40 or 50 people. Some affirme, that his men were that day in mutiny; and cried for *Gelt, Gelt*: and that this was the reasōn he gave no more on; neither upon towne nor leaguer. However, hee that night dismounted his *Canon*, drew off his troopes; and marched unto *Kalenberg*: where for 5 or 6 dayes hee entrenched. All that time, were there daily skirmishes betwixt Commanded

His numbers.

Pappenheim
affronting the
towne of
Hild shrim:
falls off againe.

ded Partees, from both Armies : but this held no longer, for that *Pappenheim* being now invited to relieve *Maeſtricht*, ^{and goes to} *Maeſtricht*, made haſt thitherward ; and ſo utterly (for the time) left this Countrey : raiſing his workes before *Kalenberg*.

In *Pappenheims* absence, was the Count of *Gronſelt* left with ſome few forces about *Weſtphalia*, on the other ſide the *Weſer*: who by lightning the garrifons in the Bishoprick *Gronſelt* left in of *Paderborn*, and thoſe parts ; came afterwards to have an *Weſtphalia*. Army too ſtrong for *Baudiffins*; after that *Lunenburg* was parted with him. But of this, by and by ; in its order. *Pappenheim* directed his march to the South Westward ; going firſt to *Groenaw*, 12 English miles from *Hildeſtein* and due Eaſt of *Hamelen*. Hence goes he to *Poll*, on the *Weſtphalian* ſide of the *Weſer*, 14 English miles South of *Hamelen*: and here having paſſed the *Weſer*, hee faces about to the left, all along the *Weſer*; and ſo to the *Rhine*-ward.

Pappenheims Army being thus marcht out of *Kalenberg*; (at whom let us turne downe a leafe, till wee againe meeete them) the *Swediſh* had preſent notice of it: and ſome of their Horſe fell into it, ſo ſoone as ever the *Pappenheimers* were out of it. Yea before *Pappenheim* himſelfe was : who being ſomething amorous, and ſtaying in the towne behind his Ar-mie upon ſuch an occaſion; might there haue beeene taken priſoner by the *Swediſh*: had they either knowne him, or of him. The Duke of *Lunenburg* purpoſing to remove, gives order to diſmantle *Steinwold* Cauſt; whereupon, July the twelfth he rises from about *Hildeſtein*: and leaving his two Regiments in the towne, he marches with the reſt of the Ar-mie towards *Duderſtat*. This towne, is in the very Southern corner of the land of *Brunswick*, in the little Countrey of *Eiſchfelt*; about 50 English miles from *Hildeſtein*. *Pappenheim* had left theſe troops for the deſence of it. Of *Breuners* Regiment; 350: of *Reinachers*, 320: of *Furſtenbergs*, 250: beſides 200 new levied men, and 400 Horſemen. Before this towne, was much good ſervice done on both ſides: the *Lunenburgers* laboured upon their Approaches, and the Be-sieged

The Duke of
Lunenburg be-
ſieges *Duderſtat*.

sieged upon their sallies, where many a brave man was killed. Amongst the rest was *Francis Beton*, Capteine Lieutenant to Sir *Frederick Hamilton*, slaine with a bullet of a sling peece, in the shoulder. The Besiegers, at last, brought their lines almost close to the walls, and were ready to strome : which the townsmen (then in want and mutiny) July 24 prevented, by sending out a Drumme, giving holtages, and entring into a Parlie. And thus was the towne yeelded : divers of the souldiers, taking pay of the Duke of *Lunenburg*. Hence were all the Ordnance, victuals, and ammunition taken, and the workes slighted and dismanted. After this, some strong Partees being sent abroad into the Country of *Eischfels*; perswaded the Boores (something at that time in commotion) to goe home and be quiet. And thus by the end of July, was all that corner (excepting *Eymbeck*) betwixt *Brunswickland*, *Duringen*, and the *Weser*; reduced into good termes again : whom, after Duke *William of Saxon-Weymars* departure ; the comming of the Count of *Pappenheim*, (like a strome among the waves,) had wrought high, and all to be-ruffled in a foame of fury.

Those parts being well shut of *Pappenheim* ; the Duke of *Lunenburg* being sollicited by the *Brunswickers* : hath a designe upon the strong towne of *Wolfenbustle*. Hereupon, August the first, is the whole Army divided; for 2 several wayes and expeditions: *Baudissin* with 3 Brigades, making towards *Paderborn* ; and the Generall *Lunenburg* with the other 3, towards *Wolfenbustle*. For now they thought to have taken in all the Countrey, at once : and that so soone as ever they shewed but their Canon; any towne would yeeld, presently. But they were deceived. *Lunenburg* comming neere *Wolfenbustle*, there were 2 weake Regiments of the Dukes and Townes of *Brunswick*, sent to joyn with him. One of these were Dragooneers ; but not yet furnishit with Horses : and the other was a Foot Regiment. Hither also came a *Scotish* Regiment, under Colonell *King*: the Regiment was not wholly there, for they were not above 7 or 800 men : bat these

Lunenburg and
Baudissin part
the Army.

these that did come, were held as good men as any in the Army. By these, was Duke *George* made up some 7000 strong, Horse and Foot together, or neere upon it : and with these, began hee now to block up the towne. Three severall Quarters he laid about it ; his owne, Sergeant-Major *Lohausen*, (which was somthing neere the towne) and the *Brunswickers*. They made neither Appoaches nor attempts upon it ; their purpose onely being, to block and starve it. The first night of their comming before it, the towne Horse by the Governor Baron *Gleiners* appointment ; fell out to burne up the next Dorps and Villages, and to spoile what they could ; that their enemies might have no shelter nor benefit of them. It chanced, that one *Erick*, (or *George*) *Anderson*, the King of Swedens Commissarie for the Armie, and Major *Lohausen* with him, seeing these *Bouzefew's* and fire-carriers, (whom they supposed to have bin their owne men) rode up to them, to chide them in the Kings name. The Commissarie having thus runne his head into the noose, by this mistaking, and betrayed himselfe in the Kings name : was there taken prisoner in the Emperours name. *Lohausen* escaped narrowly, and that by the meanes of his Pages discovering the toyle, they were gotten into.

The Duke, the more to incommodate the towne, derived away the streame that drove their Watermills : but that would not doe it.

It so fell out, that Lieutenant Generall *Baudissin* being about *Paderborn*, and finding himselfe too weake to encounter the Count of *Gronsfelt* ; (whom hee then heard to be comming against him) wrote unto his Generall *Lunenburg*, to desire some ayde from him. Hereupon is *Lohausen* sent, with those that lay in his Quarter : who comming too late to succour *Baudissin* ; turned short in, and went into *Goslar*. Whilest hee was gone from *Wolfenbustle*, in the night September 24, are 1400 Horse sent from *Gronsfelt* ; who thrust themselves into the Citie : the Duke of *Lunenburg* not being able to forbid them. They being thus gotten in ; 1000

The Duke
blocking up
wolfenbustle.

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

of them, and as many Foot of the garrison, falling out upon the *Brunswickers Quarter*: beat that, take 9 Ensignes, and send the men packing. And as much (to tell the troath) did they to Duke *Georges Quarters*: for they turned him going too; and so finally freed their towne from blocking. Hereabouts (sometimes in the field, and sometimes in Quarters in the townes,) lived the Duke of *Lunenburg* and his Army: till that in October after, they went to joyne with the Elector of *Saxomie* about *Torgau*: a little before the Battell of *Luzzen*. Turne we now after *Baudissin*.

We left him ready for his march from *Duderstat* (where the Army was divided) unto *Paderborn*. Before which going, he sent a Colonell with his Regiment unto *Eymbeck*: a good towne some 26 English miles to the Northward. Here was Colonell *Golz* left Governour, by *Pappenheim*; who was resolved to give his Generall a good account of it. The *Swedes* thinking presently to have the towne yeelded, finde their hopes deceived: for that the *Eymbecker* so farre resolved to resist; as that they tooke downe the spires of their steeple, and planted Sling peeces upon them: with which to shoot downe into the *Swedes* Quarters. Thus were they faine to returne againe, with having only seene the towne: which all that had seene it, could not.

From *Duderstat* to *Paderborn*, lay *Baudissins* march to the Westward, and he had some 60 English miles thither: in which march, hee twice or thrice crost over the *Wefer*. August the twelfth, he marcht by the towne; and the next day turned he back againe, and sate downe before it. The *English* and *Scottis* were at first sitting downe, assignd to an old Cloyster, where there was good wine and Beinge: but that being thought too good a Quarter for them; there was a trick used to get them out of it. An Alarum was brought to them in the night, and a command to rise and march: so that having had a scurvie journey of it all that night, and the next day till 4 a clock; there were 4 or 5 Trumpetters then sent after, to countermand them back againe; after which, they were

Baudissin besieging *Paderborn*,

were put into a worse Quarter. The garrison was 1500 strong within, and Colonel *Weßphalen* was their Governor. The Approaches were from severall Quarters begun; and *Baudissin* with the *Dutches*, was gotten within a stone cast of the walls: the *English* and *Scottish* being not much further off. It was wet weather now; and that much hindered the Besiegers: besides which, the towne garrison sallyed night and day, and shot very fiercely; especially upon the *Dutches* Quarters and Approaches. In these sallies and defences, were thought to be lost neare 1000 men of *Baudissins*: and yet that which worse was, the newes of the Count of *Gronsfeld* coming, was brought so fresh and truly into the leaguer; that the eighth day of the siege, and the 21 of this August, was *Baudissin* enforced to leve his owne siege, and hasten back to *Corberg*; a day and halves march from *Paderborn*.

Hither did the Army arrive the 23; and there staid two or three dayes, to get some contribution out of the Country. Hence prepared they to remove the 26. Here did *Baudissen* in the Corne-fields, draw up his smal Armie into Battaglia: hourely expecting when *Gronsfeld* would have marcht up to encounter him. At this time, was there a *Hollands* Ambassador, and a *Swedish* Commissarie, gone from *Baudissins* leaguer; who had like, unawares, to have beene taken prisoner by the *Gronsfelders*: but escaping backe againe, they brought too sure newes unto *Baudissin*, that *Gronsfeld* was marching night and day to surprise him. And hee, indeede, having lightned all the garrisons, that were furthest from the danger; and being re-enforced with some new Recreuts: had thus gotten up an Army too strong for *Baudissin*, and was now marching to have fallen upon him: so soone, namely, as he had heard of the Duke of *Zunenburgs* parting with him. But he advanced no further at this time, till the Count of *Pappenheim* was come up againe, whom hee presently peec'd in withall.

And at this time, had *Klein Jacob* with 2 or 300 Horse and Dragoones, lately conjoynd himselfe with *Baudissin*:

having

Klein Jacob
comming to
joyne with
Baudissin;

With some stir
with him
Gronsfelds.

having at the Passe of Brakel in the way, had some bickering with the Gronsfelders; who tooke the Passe from him. This little valiant man, is native (as I heare) of Mompelgart, upon the edge of Burgundie: which belongeth unto the Duke of Brunswick.

Hee being joyned, Bandissin marcht presently towards Hoxter upon the Wefer. Some a Dutch miles short and to the West of which, is the towne or Fleck of Brakel aforesaid: which the Gronsfelders being already possessed of, there fell out some encounters for the clearing of it. Klein Jacob having the honour of the first charge, was put to the retreate: whereupon two Dutch Regiments of Horse that should have seconded him, ranne quite out of the field to Hoxter. Then came it to the Fins or * Hackapells turnes to goe on; of whom there being but 4 troopes, yet shewed they a farre better resolution. So well they seconded little Jacob, that the fight was restored and the better gotten of it: the Gronsfelders, finally, being beaten from the Passe, and by the name of that with the losse of one Corner, and the leaving of 3 field peece's behind them. The Passe being thus cleared, Bandissin with the Army goes on to Hoxter: where he arrived about August the twenty seventh.

Both Armies,
(of the Swedes
and Imperia-
lits) usually
call these Fin-
landers Horse,
by the name of
Hackapells: and
that from the
word Hackpel,

which they use
when they fall
on. It signifies
Knock them
downe: for they
ooke for no
Quarter; ei-
ther to give or
take any.

*Bandissin going
to lye at Hox-
ter,*

is forced to
dilodge by
Pappenheim.

This towne having at this time no Forces in it, yeelded at the first summons. Here laid he a Bridge over the Wefer; by which, after he had laine a while on the Westphalian side, (on which the towne standeth) hee passed over to the further side: and as hee had fortified the towne on the other side, so he now fortified a Camp or Workes on that Brunswickers side: which hee daily relieved from the towne and leaguer. About this Hoxter he lay, till the nineteenth of September following; upon which day by 8 a clock in the morning, Pappenheim (who was now returned from Maestricht and conjoyned with Gronsfelt:) first shewed his Vant-carriers on the Westphalian side of Hoxter. About 1200 men, was hee beleeved to have then beene: which was almost double unto Bandissins number. Hee, therefore, first

of all, had commanded his Horse over the river, to the Dorps on the other side where the leaguer was: so that the Count of Pappenheim at his comming, found re ne there to doe any spoile upon. That day, went the Ordnance off on both sides, over the *Weſer*: the towne wall was also guarded with the *Scotisſe* Muskettiers of Sir Frederick Hamiltons Regiment, and 100 of *Forbeses*: as the letter of that *Scotisſe* Gentleman testifies, who sayes that hee that day commanded upon the wall.

Baudiffin thus entertained the time, till hee could send away his Baggage and military impediments, before hand unto *Munden*: whither in the evening, was hee enforced to make his retreat; and to quit both towne and leaguer. And indeed it was high time for him to doe so; for that the *Weſer* was in 2 places fordable, above and below the towne: by which, had *Pappenheim* (as that night he wculd) have comne over, he had cut the *Swedisſe* Army all to peeces.

Baudiffin leaving some Dragooneers behind to breake the Bridge, marcht off: whose departure was discovered, because his Ordnance were no more heard of. Hee, thus being unable to recover up to his Generall the D. of *Lunenburgh* (*Pappenheim* being betweene) he was faine to retire himselfe towards *Munden*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hessens* Countrey. And this way did *Pappenheim* well know to follow him: so that having that night, passed his Horse over the *Weſer*; their *Vanguard*, by the morning, had overtaken *Baudiffin*, and brought up his *Reere* for him. This was September the 20: by breake of day which morning, had his Horse fetcht up those *Swedisſe* Horsemen that mannd the *Reere*, to make good the *Retreate* to the Footmen. *Baudiffins* advantage was, that hee was alreadie entred into the Woods: so that sending some muskettiers from the *Van* into the *Reare*; they fren behinde the trees so galled the *Pappenheimers*, that their Horse could not come up to charge the Arme of the Foot forces. However, *Pappenheim* thus pursued, and *Baudiffin* in this posture, retreated; for above 20 English miles together.

Peder von pur-
sues Baudiffin,
and skirmishes
with him 20
miles together.

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

together, skirmishing all the way and fighting. Plainly, there was good service done on both sides, *Pappenheim* did very much spoile upon the *Swedish*, and cut off all the sick and tyred men, that could not so fast follow. For all this, the *Finnish* Horse having the *Reere*, tooke 2 Cornets from the *Pappenheimers*: who still pursued, till *Baudissin* had gotten *Munden* on his back; at which time *Pappenheim* sounded the retreat, and gave it over. Most of the *Swedish* Dragoones paid for it, and so did *Pappenheims* men too: there being 1000, and more, slaine upon both parties.

From *Munden* the 21 and 22 of September, did *Baudissin* march to *Cassel* in *Hassia*: for other place hee had not to goe unto. In this land crossing uncertainely up and downe, backwards and forwards: he tooke a resolution to fall into the Bishopricke of *Cullen*: his purpose being to make a diversion, and to oblige the *Elector* to recall *Pappenheim*. Now therefore advances he thorow the Dukedom of *Berg*, on to the *Rhine*: neere which, October 19, hee takes in the strong Castle of *Siburg*, upon the East banke of it right against *Ronn*. Then takes he in *Lintz*, and *Audernach*, on the other side of the *Rhine*: this last, being upon the very frontiers of *Triers* Countrey. Then winnes hee *Dragonfels*, a very strong Castle upon a high hill: so named (say the Countrey people) from *S. George* his killing of the *Dragon*. The hill though very high, yet was it commanded by another, hard by it; neither hills nor Castle, being defended as they should have beene. This service was done by the *English* and *Scottish* Brigade: and here was found good plenty of provisions. December the third, was the Armie mustered at *Konickswinter*: and December the tenth, were the *English*, *Scottish*, and *Irish* Brigade, reduced. December the eleventh, was *Dutz* taken, right against *Cullen*: but December the twelfth, they were by the Ordnance from the towne of *Cullen*, againe beaten out of it. But of these things slightly: because beyond my time of the Kings death, and for that I could come at no particular instructions.

There

Baudissin falls
into the land
of *Cullen*:

Taking towns
and castles in
it.

There was a *Journall* of these Actions, brought into this Land; but it was not my good fortune, nor my Readers, to light upon it. I confess I might have enlarged my selfe out of *Le Soldat Snedois*: had I knowne where to have trusted him.

The Count of *Pappenheim*, having thus chased away Lieutenant Generall *Bandissins* part of the Armie; turnes now against Generall *Lunenburghs* Division, before *Wolfenbuttle*: for within 4 dayes of *Bandissins* retreat, were the 1400 Horse thrust into the towne; as hath beene before recited. And now turnes *Pappenheim*(who might doe what he pleased) against the towne of *Hildebeim*: upon which, he had before vowed to be revenged. Being set downe before the towne, hee plants those 9 Ensignes which had beeene taken from *Lunenburgh* and the *Brunswickers* at *Wolfenbuttle*; upon one of his Batteries, next the towne: which he caused them to understand were *Bandissins* Colours, and that hee had utterly overthrowne him. This he did, to put the townsmen out of all hope, of being that way relieved. Here sate hee downe September 26: where battering the townsmen with bigge words, as well as the towne with his great Ordinance; hee had already cow'd and daunted their courages: notwithstanding their towne might have held out ten times longer. *Pappenheims* Approaches and his Batteries; so terribly pusled the honest Burgers; that they began to listen to a Parlie: fame woulde they have made their owne condicions; had not their Enemie knowne well enough, hee had to deale with those that would yeld to any thing. *Pappenheim* continuing stout, peremptorily made proffer to them of these 5 Conditions; which he vow'd he woulde not alter from.

Pappenheim be-sieges Hilde-beim:

1. First, that out of his meere favour and grace to them, he woulde (at present) burthen their towne with no greater composition, ^{and takes it by a garrison, then of 2000: which according as hee had occa-} sion, he woulde draw out and lighten.

2. That they shoulde give him 200000 Dollars, present contribution
V u

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

contribution : in consideration whereof, he would give order, that strict military discipline should be observed by his Souldiers : whom he would forbid plundering.

3. That the *Lutherans* should still be left in the free exercise of their religion : and be enforced to alter nothing in it.

4. That the townsmen should have free leave , either to goe or stay, as they pleased.

5. That there should , for the time, be a cessation from shooting on both sides : and yet should hee be suffered to worke on still in his Approaches , and to bring forward his Lines even to their very Ports; until such time as they should be set open to him.

Upon these most dishonourable conditions , was the strong & excellently wel provided town of *Hildestheim* ; the last day of September, yeelded up unto the Count of *Pappenheim*. You have here no mention, of any cōditions for soldiers marching out ; for indeed there was none, but the towns ordinary garrison now in it : for notwithstanding that the Duke of *Lunenburg* had left 2 of his Regiments there, at his going thence to *Duderstadt* ; yet had hee drawne them out againe, at his late going to *Wolfenbustle*. At this easie taking, of so mighty a strong, and well provided a Citie , *Pappenheim* himselfe could not chuse but wonder : *Hildestheim* was much easier then *Maastricht* to him. Being master of it, hee used it thereafter : Cowards (he knew) would endure anything. Now gives he order, to have all the townsmens plate laid hold of ; and carried into the *Statehouse*: and that to make present downe payment , of the 20000 Rixe Dollars agreed upon. A very great quantity of victualls and ammunition, hee causes to be taken out of their Magazines, which hee sent into *Wolfenbustle*. This was the place, that hee was most carefull of: for besides that it so curbed and awed the neighbour *Brunswickers* ; it was a sure retreate for himselfe, upon all occasions.

[Having

Having settled things in these parts, where no busynesse, and scarce a considerable enemye appeared : hee was in this beginning of October commanded from the Court of Vien-
na, to march up to his Generalissimo the Duke of Fridland.

Leaving, therefore, the Count of Gronsfelt in these parts, ^{Pappenheim} leaving the
to looke to the Duke of Lunenburg ; and the Count of Me-
rode being sent, a little after this, towards Cullen, against ^{Count of} Gronsfelt about
Baudissin : himselfe with the greatest and best part of his the ^{neigh-}
Armie, being some 8000 reall men : marches up into Mis-
nia.

His march lay altogether thoro^w Branswickland, to the Southward : the rivers of *Leine* and *Wefer*, being upon his right hand. Into *Duringen* he first comes ; a rich, and enemy Country to him. All the better : such rich and weake enemies, had hee a desire to deale withall. Having passed by *Duderstat* and the Countrey of *Eischveld* ; the next good place to that, (in the very edge of *Duringen*) is the great towne of *Adulhausen* ; famous, sometimes, for the *Diets* of the Empire : Presenting his Grosse before this, together with the terror of the name of *Pappenheim*, and the example of *Hildesheim* : it yeelds to pay him 8000 Dollars. Thence sends hee 3 troopes of 150 Horse, unto *Isenach* ; a stronger place, and more out of the danger : as being 15 English miles to the South of *Mulhausen*. Being denied here, these Horsemen plunder *Creutzberg* in their returne ; a little towne some 5 English miles to the North West of *Isenach*, towards *Mulhausen*.

From *Mulhausen*, hee advances due Eastward unto *Tobmasbruck* ; and there he gets contribution. *Thenstat*, an ope-
ner towne, some 11 miles further ; hee causes to be summo-
ned : and whereas the townsmen could not so suddenly bring up the demanded contribution ; the *Pappenheimers* <sup>Hee fetches
contribution
out of the
townes of Da-
ringen.</sup>
Hang up 3 of the chiefe Burgers upon a tree : who being halfe dead, they cut downe againe. *Gebesen* hee also fetches money out of : and sends to the Cite of *Erfurt*, that if they

would have their Countrey townes spared, they shold
send him 20000 Dollars. Duke *Wolffram Meymar* lay then
(sicke) in the towne, with some 3000 men: so that *Erfurt*
not fearing their owne walls either sent him nothing; or
else contented him with 2000 Dollars, raised out of
their Boores, who were in the danger of being
rifled. Hearing, now of Duke *Bernards*
being already on this side the *Duringer*
Walds: he marches away to *Badset*;
and so along to *Merseburg*: as
Page 119 of our *Third Part*,
whee have before
told you.

THE



THE ELECTOR OF SAXONIES PROCEE- DINGS IN LVSATIA, AND SILESIA:

*After their former putting out of Bohemia by
the Duke of Fridland.*



Ow the Saxon Forces under Felt-Marshall Arnhaim, had in the end of May 1632, beene forced out of Bohemia: you may please to take notice of, by Page 232, of our Second Part. The losse of this Kingdome, will not altogether appeare to be so dishonourable; if the multitudes of Wallenstein be confidered, which were foure times their numbers. Since the match hath beene made more equally, the Saxons have not onely collard with the Wallsteiners, but overthrown them: and have shewne the world, that the losse of Bohemia was not cowardize, so much as negligence in them: yea in these after warres, have they given us a better account of their diligences.

The Elector of Saxonies proceedings

The Imperialists falling into Lusatia:

Don Balthazar di Marradus being left chief-commander of the *Militia* in *Bohemia*, by his *Generalissimo*; now thinking the fortune of the warres to be turned, and the dice to runne all on their side: hopes of as good a hand of it in *Lusatia*, as *Walenstein* lately had in *Bohemia*. Whilst, therefore, his *Generalissimo* recovers *Egra* from the *Saxons*; *Don Balthazar* is sent to take *Lusatia* from that *Elector* also: so great a spite had *Walenstein* unto *Saxons*. About June the sixth, does *Don Balthazar* first set out some troopes, to fall thorow *Silesia* into the 6 townes in the *Upper Lusatia*, which joynes East and West, with *Silesia*. First recover they *Gorlitz* upon the river *Nesca*, which lies next unto *Silesia*: and the towne making no resistance, because not able; hath no wrong done to it. Then also take they *Zittau*, *Luben*, and what they pleased.

The *Elector of Saxony* perceiving, that if he suffered this, the warres would be brought thorow *Lusatia* into his *Misnia*: calls his Army together at *Dresden*; and sends *Arnhem* with them into *Lusatia*. Hee came both time enough and strong enough, to rescue *Bautzen*; the chiefe Citie of the 6: before which, the Imperialists being newly settled, are faine to rise againe, and retire the way they came into *Silesia*. Upon *Luben*, now falls *Arnhem*; a little towne, but an indifferent strong one: which being kept by some 700 Imperialists, was taken by assault by the *Saxons*; and the most of the garrison put to the sword, for so long resisting. A many of these 700, were *Crabats*, indeed; who having done too much mischiefe to looke for Quarter, became the more obstinate in the rendring.

Now comes the *Elector of Saxony* unto *Bautzen*; to whom, whilst *Arnhem* and the Army repaired; other Imperialists came and repaireld *Luben*: serving all the *Saxons* that would not turne to their party, as *Arnhem* had before used their fellowes. About the 25 of June, the *Elector* returns to *Dresden* againe, and *Arnhem* (his great *Orator*) with him: at which time the Army is drawne to the Frontiers, and Colonell

which are recovered by
Arnhem.

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Colonell Loeser with his Foot Regiment and 500 Horse, is laid along the *Elb* betwixt *Prin* and *Dresden*, for the guard of the Electors Castle and person, against all sudden *Caval-
eadoes*. The occasion for the Electors going home, was the comming of a kinde of Ambasladour from *Walenstein*, with the noise of some peaceable *Propositions*. The King of *Sweden*, also, to prevent all such private parties, had already dispatched the *Palatine Augustus of Sulzbach* (who dyed in the employmont) and one of the Counts of *Solms*, unto the Elector: who under the pretence of directing him in the *Militia*, should keepe him firme unto the Party.

The peace was turned into silence, for the *Propositions* were misliked: whereupon the Elector musters once againe within a league of *Dresden*, where hee layes a Bridge over the *Elb*, and sends the second time into *Lusacia*. By this time was Colonel *Buckersdorff** already upon his march, with the Elector of Brandenburgs forces: who staid but for Major Generall *James* (or *Jacob*) *Magdugall*. Hee being borne in *Sweden* of Scottish parents, is by the *Swedish* usually called *Dubalt*: as he shall by us, hereafter; he was to bring on the *Swedish*, now taken out of the garrisons of *Pomeren*, and some others newly landed. These were to fall joynly into *Silesia*, by the *Oders* side: so that *Arnheim* with them, was likely hereafter to be strong enough for the Imperialists.

Upon *Arnheims* second comming, the Imperialists abandon *Luben*, and retire to other of their fellowes at *Zittau*, 4 English miles to the South of *Luben*. Thither follows *Arnheim*, and there besieges them. They sally upon his Approaches: and hee there kills above 100 of them. The *Saxons* making themselves masters of a great Worke, before one of the Ports; by that get to lodge themselves in the Suburb: and from thence they set the towne on fire, by heaving in *Hand-granadoes*. Now did *Don Balthazar* set himselfe to relieve *Zittau*: and whilst hee sent 2 Regiments to entertaine skirmish with the *Saxons*: 5 other troopes thrust themselves into the towne. After these, came *Don Balthazar* himselfe,

*Mentioned
Pag. 95 et cetera
Enf. 1st.

The Elector of Saxonies proceedings.

is forced to
rise by Don
Balthazar.

Dubalt comes
into Silesia, to
ioyne with
Arabian.

himselfe, with the Imperiall Army : of whose approaching *Arneheim* being aware ; raised with all speede his siege of *Zittaw*, and retured himselfe unto *Hoissward* upon the river *Spree*, 2 dayes march to the North of *Zittaw*. This was the safest place for him : for that it was towards *Silesia*, which way *Dubalt* was now comming with his Army.

And now came *Dubalt*, indeed, & with him Prince *Vruck* of *Denmark* : upon whom the Duke of *Saxonia* was to befall Colonell *Rindhauff's* Regiment; who had beeene slaine in the Battell of *Leipsich*: and not that onely , but his third daughter too, as was beleev'd. *Dubalt* and *Buckersdorff*, having mustered 9 or 1000 men at *Franckford* upon the *Oder*; advance upwards along the northern banck of that river, unto *Great Glogau*; one of the best Cities of *Silesia*. It is a Dukedom : the title whereof had the Emperour lately bestowed upon *Waldenstein*, for recovering *Prague* from the Duke of *Saxonia*. In the towne, was a garrison of 6 troopes of Horse, and ten Foot Companies : over whom, was Colonell *Goetz* left Commander: he who sometimes burnt down *Pawlack* in *Pomerania*, as Page 59 of our *First Part* we have told you. *Dubalt* (to be briefe) about the tenth of August, forces both towne and Castle : and compells *Goetz* to retire into the Cathedral, which had a good Fort for the guard of it, and good Workes round about it : the Fort alone, having some 5 or 6 peeces of Ordnance upon it.

Goetz having done his devotion in this Church, and hating against his will beeene made a *Church-man*: could have beeene contented to have robbed the *Church* of himselfe, (now its *Patrone*,) and have stolne away over the *Oder*. But there was the *Saxon* Colonell *Kalckstein* enquartered, with his Regiment of Dragooneers. *Goetz* thus put to it, was faine to treat upon conditions of rendring: for all which he could obtaine no other but the selfe-same Articles, which his *Generalissimo* had sometimes given to those of *Prague*: which was, to march out only with their swords, without Armes, Drummes, or Colours.

Great

Great Glogaw having thus changed her master, thought They take
Great Glogaw, Wallenstein would not lay downe his Title: the Swedish and Saxon Armies, being able together to make up some 14 or 15000 men; thinke themselves strong enough to attempt upon the countrey. They first send to summon Sagan, another of Wallensteins Dukedomes, about 20 English miles to the West of Great Glogaw: which together with its neighbours Neustedlen, Prunk, Sprottau and Freystad, in that rich countrey, betwixt the Oder and the Bober; were faine to give entertainement and contribution unto the Swedish. From hence, at this time, was Colonell Kalkstein with some 1800 Horse and Dragooneers, sent towards Steinau upon the Southern banck of the Oder, about 18 English miles to the North East of great Glogaw aforesaid. This is the Passe betwixt Glogaw, and the citie Lignitz: and it hath a Bridge over the river, with a good Fort before it. There lay one Imperiall Cornet and 4 Companies of Dragooners, Steinau Fort
taken by the
Saxons. for the guard of it. This did Kalkstein surprise: with some boates in the Oder at this Bridge, with good Merchandise in them.

Thence advances he Southwards towards Lignitz, which hath a particular Duke of his owne, a *Lutheran*. The place is betweene 2 small rivers, 10 miles from the Oder. Here abouts, some forces making opposition; Kalkstein cut off betwixt 20 and 30 of them; and tooke 100 more; which became his soldiers, Kalkstein having given advertisement to Arnheim and Dubalt, of the posture of the towne; and that it depended upon it selfe, without having any Imperiall garrison in it: Arnheim presents his Armie before it, & sends to know the Dukes pleasure, whether he pleased to be Imperiall, or would declare himselfe Swedish? The Duke seeing an Army at hand, which were likely to call to him for an answe: professes himselfe their friend; and that he and his towne should give free passage and relieve unto both Swedish and Saxon Armies. This profession, was the safeguard of the towne, and an advantage to the Protestant Armies:

*Lignitz both
Duke and
towne, accor-
ded with
Arnheim.*

mies : some of which now going into the towne, and enquiring whether therewere any of the enemies goods there or no : found 4000 paire of provant shooes in it; with some other necessaries, provided by Colonell *Goetz* for his Regiment.

Arnheim having onely lodged 1000 musketiers in the towne; sends back the greatest part of his Armie towards great *Glogaw*; himselfe with some Cavalry & field peeces, advancing towards *Goldberg*: a Fleck some 14 English miles to the South of *Lignitz* : whereabouts some Imperialists were now assembled. Having notice upon his march, that they were retyred thence, and gone to *Lemburg* upon the river *Bober*, towards the frontiers of *Lusatia*; and that *Don Balthasar* was there himselfe with his whole forces : hee faces it about towards great *Glogaw*, to joyne againe with *Dubalt*, who was busied in fetching contribution out of the countrey.

Arnheim ad-
vances against
the Imperia-
lists,

retires from
them.

Don Balthazar
recovers Stei-
nau.

Here at *Lemburg* was the whole Imperiall Army, (which might be some 12000 strong) now rallyed together : there were the Counts of *Mansfelt* and *Schaumburg*, with Sergeant Major Generall *Schaffgotzy*, and the chiefe Officers of the Field. They having notice of the D of *Lignitz* being accorded with *Arnheim*, & of the Saxos retyring to *Glogaw*: apprehend a preseate resolution to fall upon *Steinau* Fort againe, so to cut off the Passe to *Lignitz*. This they effect fortunately enough : for that there was as little opposition there made against them, as had at the former taking beeene against *Kalckstein*. This done, *Don Balthasar* thinkes to advance towards Great *Glogaw* : hoping to finde the Swedish and Saxon Armies, not yet come together, but busied about the Countrey ; and so to fall in amongst their Quarters.

But therein they were deceived ; for they had not advanc't one league & a half, but they had the Alarne brought home to them ; how that both *Arnheim* and *Dubalt* were already marcht, and within a league of them. Vpon this newes,

newes, Don Balthasar counter-marches to the Passe at *Steinau*; the neerest & the safest strength, which he thereabouts had the command of. Behind this town and in it, they made *Alt*, and there sate they downe with their Army. Vpon Saturday Augult the seventeenth, came the *Swedes* and *Saxons* unto *Steinau*; and tooke up 2 severall Quarters before it. *Dubalts* with his *Swedes* and *Brandenburgers*, had a sandy hill before the enemyes Leager, and upon that, gettng up 2 Batteryes and 20 peeces of Ordnance: he cruelly with murthering shot &c. thundered both upon the towne, and the Imperial Leager. *Arnheim*, hee charges upon their Horse Quarters at the same time: and *Dubalts* Cavalry falls upon another flanck of them: who being now much distract by the raking of *Dubalts* Ordnance thorow their Battalions; their Horlemen after a charge or two, tooke the rowt upon it, running Eastward towards *Schweinitz*, and *Breslau*; some 4000 of their Foot, only having thrust themselves into the Fort. In this fight, (as I find 2 several writings for) were some 2000 Imperialists slaine: there might perchace be halfe so many; & hardly more, for that they stood not long enough to it. Chace there could be none; for that the Imperialists having first sent away their ordnance and baggage towards *Breslau*, tooke care enough to burne *Steinau* bridge behind them.

Now does the *Protestant* Army lay seige to the Fort, and to them in it: which the next day Aug. nineteenth, they fall to batter upon. Tis written that *Don Balthasar* himself, with the Counts of *Schaumberg* & *Mansfeld*, besides other *Grades* of the Army; were now within the Fort: but I thinke they had too much wit to coope up themselves in a Counting-house. This ill lucke they had, that the fourth day of the seige, some of their powder tooke fire within the Fort: & the town, besides, fel into a flame by *Dubalts* shooting. Divers, therefore, here miscarried; *Schaffgotz* was shot in the shoulder with a musket, and the rest fay'd themselves either by getting over the *Oder*, or by boates downe the

Where the
Swedes and
Saxons coming
upon them;

first rout
their Army:

and then recover Steinau.

They take
Neumarkt,

and Koss.

And pursue
the fleeing
Imperialists
unto Breslau.

streame of it. Colonell Goetz was comming to their relief, but meeting the newes of All's losse, he retyred to Schweinitz. Don Balthasar and the rest recovered to the walls of Breslaw; whereabouts the Army beganne to come to a head againe. And thus upon Friday August the twentie fourth, were the Passe and Skonce of Steinau, again recovered from the Imperialists.

The day before this, was Kalckstein sent out with 10 Companies unto Neumarkt; a pretty towne betwixt Steinau and Breslaw : and 15 English miles from this latter. Kalckstein sending for the Magistrate, demands entrance : and he desiring respite, Kalckstein shewed him 4 peeces of Ordnance. That bunch of keyes opend all the gates, and let in 5 Companies to lie there in garrison. With the other 5, went Kalckstein unto Koss; 8 English miles due South of Breslaw: which durst not but leeme freely to admit of 3 other Companies. Thus was Breslaw blocked up, both upon the North East and South quarter of it.

By Sunday noone August the twenty sixth, had the Imperiall Army gotten up to Breslaw; before the Oder gate whereof, they were now marshalled. These reported, how shamefullly they had beene beaten out of the Skonce, with the losse of some hundreds, as also of 6 peeces of Ordnance and Schaffgotz's silver wagon, to the value of 2 tunne of gold in it. Towards evening, the Army was commanded to the long Bridge; over which they marched, and, upon a faire Triangular peece of ground betwixt the wood, the water, & the morasses; they encamped. A place of mighty advantage; w^t had but one Avenue to it, by which it might be assualted. Here they gave out themselves to those of Breslaw, to be 14000 : but 10000 or 11000 is a faire allowance. The next day came the Swedish and Saxon Vanguard unto Lissa, a town & Castle within 6 English miles of Breslaw. Thence advanced they towards Breslaw, in pursuit of the Imperialists.

Being come within halfe an hours march; a Squadron of Crakats encountered some of their Van: by whom they were

were presently put to the retreat. Presently after, 300 of them turned back again; by which time a troops of Swedes were come into the *Sweinitz* meddow called the *Faire bird*, within musket shot of *Breslaw*. Now the *Crabats* called to the citizens on the walls, to assist them by shooting at the *Swedes*; which they refused. Hereupon, 300 *Crabats* fell upon the 150 *Swedes*; whom they put to the retreat. These being reenforced, came on again; but the *Crabats* keeping close to the *Sweinitz* port, the *Swedes* durst come no nearer for feare the towne should have given fire upon them: for which indeed there was order taken. Now looked the *Swedes* howto get between the *Crabats* and their camp; which they discovering, made hast thitherward. They gone, there was avery faire Coach espied by the *Swedes*: which offered to come into the Citié: and this they fell upon, and took. There was one Lieutenant Colonel *Kurzib* in it, & 20000 Dollars. The towne shot at them; at which they shaking their heads, ranne away with the Bootie: not so much as offering to turne a bullet againe.

About 6 at night, the whole *Swedes* and *Saxonian* Army appeared; with their great Artillery onely, and no baggage. Being come within half an houres march of the Imperiall Leaguer, they ranged themselves into *Battaglia*; advancing with their Canon playing before them. Six faire Regiments had order to attack the Imperialists in their Leaguer: which they, with bravery enough, maintayned for an houre and halfe; being then constrained to forfake that most advantagious situation, to set fire upon their quarters; and in haft to retyre themselves, baggage, and ordnance, over the long *Oder* bridge: which in 3 places they put fire unto. This had they not done, they had been all undone: and all this (saith mine Author) I my selfe saw with mine owne eyes, from the toppe of St. *Elizabeths* steeple, in *Breslaw*.

By 2 a clock on the Tuesday morning August 28, they fell too ragaine; the *Swedes* putting hard for it, to get over the river: which the other with all violence, forbade them.

Some skirt
mishes being
made by their
vantcurriers,

the whole Ar-
my follows,
and beates
the Imperia-
lists over the
Oder.

The Elector of Saxonies proceedings.

A device of
Baron Donaw's
to make the
Swedish fall
foule with
Breslaw.

About 10 a clock, Prince Henry Wentzel of Bernstadt, the Baron Donaw, and 2 other privie Counsellors of the town, that were *Militarie Commissaries* to the Emperor; went up to the walls : to take view of the skirmish; Baron Donaw (in my hearing (layes my Author) thus beganne to the other 2, *I pray let us trie the cast of this peece of ordnance, and let us see how farre shee will range her bullet*: but the Counsell would not consent to it. Hee seeing none that contradicted : sent for an old Gunner, Imperially affected in the towne ; and bids him to traverse the peece upon the Swedish, and give fire to it. This being done (himself having helpt the Gunner) he laughed heartily : rewarding the fellow with a Ducate and a thanke; saying *This is the first, in Gods name*; this said, he goes to his Coach, and so to the Counsell Chamber. The townsmen understanding of this shot, all in furie runne to their citie Colonell the Lord of Saris : complaine to him of the Baron Donaw, and all to raile at him. The Colonell shutting his doores at them, they made Alarme upon it : in great multitudes flocking to the Captaines of their severall Wards first, and then to the Starehouse. There called they for the Baron, the new Gunner, their *Saviour* : and doe the Magistrate what he could with perswasions, they would there stay his out-comming. About one or 2 a clock, comes a Ritmaster with 3 troopes of Horse from the Swedish Army, to demand the townsmens purpose in that peece of ordnance : which had killed a Leiftenant Colonels horse under him, and 3 soldiers. The Magistrate desiring respite for his answere, till the morning; the Ritmaster fairely retyred : some townsmen first telling him, that it was Baron Donaw's doing. By this, were the townsmen starck mad, resolving to have tame the Baron in peeces; had not 2 Lords privately brought him off in their Coach; & set him privatly downe behinde the *Cathedral* : whence at midnight hee was shifted out of the Citie, unto his owne Castle of *Wassenberg* : 32 English miles to the North East of Breslaw : whence he escaped to Vienna. Hence was he sent into Poland where

*This Baron
being a Protes-
tant first, and
then an Apo-
stle, was sent by
the Emperor
to Breslaw, to
be his Commissary,
for the de-
forming (refor-
ming I should
have said) of
the Protestant
Churches in Si-
lesia. Being in-
solent in his
office, and be-
comme odious;
he would tell
the people he
did that to
save them.

where he raised some thousands of *Cossacks*, and with them returned into *Silesia*.

By this mans indiscretion, was this fairest City of *Silesia* like to have beeene undone; by his offering the first act of hostilitie against the *Swedes*: who were al this day in hot skirmish with the Imperialists. Wednesday morning, they began againe; the fight continuing till 8 a clock : at which time was shooting given over on both sides. The reason was, for that the Imperialists, at that instant, retyred to a place called *Clarwoder*, not farre from the *Oder*: leaving some troops to maintaine the Bridge, notwithstanding. The Imperialists towards evening, sent divers of their best lists retyre a baggage-wagons, with 4 great peeces of Ordnance, (each little drawne by 20 or 24 Horses) and a goodly *Mortar*, to be taken into *Breslau*: for feare (as the messengers said) least the Imperiall Army in their retreate, should be forced to leave them to their enemies. The gunnes were taken in; for that the citie could answere for them: they having lent more peeces then those, unto the Emperor. As for the Baggage, they would not meddle with it: for feare the sheltering of enemies goods, should occasion a quarrell with the *Swedes* and *Saxons*: who had yet done no injury to the townsmen.

That night was there command given thorow the Citie, that every Burger upon paine of losing his Freedome; should meet the next morning at the Statehouse. There and then, were these 5 demands made, from *Don Balthasar* and the Imperiall Army.

1. Whether the Citie would stand firme to the Emperor?
2. And serve his Armie with victualls and Ammunition?
3. In case the Army should not be able to maintaine it, (as they feared) against their enemies: whether they might have the favour to retreate into the Citie?
4. Whether they would grant passage to the Army, thow the towne?
5. And if their Armie were put to the retreate, whether the

the Citie would favour them with their Ordnance from the walls, and so afford them their best assistance?

The Cities answere was.

1. For the Emperor, they were resolved, as they were obliged, to live and die.

2. Victuals and Ammunition for the Armie, they could not spare them: because that little they had there was need enough of, in so populous a Citie. And yet if they could be assured; how their towne should be maintained against the *Swedes & Saxons*; they would afford whatever they found their Magazines able to spare them.

3. As for the retreate of the Armie into their Citie; that might they by no meanes afford them.

4. As for leave of marching thorow their Citie; that could they not imagine how it might be convenient either for the towne or Armie: for that seeing they must likewise afford the same favour to the *Swedes*; they should thereby bring their citie into a most eminent danger.

5. As for favouring them with their Ordnance from the walls, until they should have made their retreate far enough; that were farre lesse expedient for them. And therefore they would intreat the Army to consider, how much inconvenience must needs be drawne upon the City by it. For whereas the *Swedes* had hitherto offered no hostility; either unto the City or any belonging to it; they had no reason to provoke them first of all: which if they shoule doe, they shoule never be able to give an account for it to posterite. This courtesie they hoped for from the Imperiall Army; that if the *Swedes* shoule offer to assault their Citie, they would the be ready to relieve it. The towne having thus handfomly declined, rather then denied these demands: the Imperiall Officers all abashed at it, repaired to their leaguer.

About noone the same Thursday, came there a letter unto the Magistrates, from the Generall *Dubois*: full of good language and profession. Therein was the sincerity of his
Majesty

Majestie of Swedens purposes expressed, full of desire, to relieve all the oppressed; concluding all, with a desire of vi-
 ctaus, for thankes and money. Victuals were denied: for Dubalt writes
 all which, those of the Suburbs came into the towne to buy; to the City.
 which they plentifully went and sold unto the Swedes. Now come the soldiers to St. Nicholas gate: and close under that, they bring their wagons to be sheltred. The most part of the Imperiall Armie in the meane time, forsooke their owne leaguer, and retyred into that Suburb on the other side of Breslaw called Elbing: the Swedes in the meane time continuing their assault upon those left at the Oder, & striving to force their passage over it. Friday the last of Augult, betimes in the morning, the rest of the Imperiall Army brake up, and came before the Oder gate; and so retyred into the said Suburb. Here staid they not full 2 hours: but in great hast retyred themselves, some North Eastward to Namstan; others North Westward to Anris: whence, twas thought, they would have gone out of the country. About noone the same day, came the Swedish rushing into the said Suburb of Elbing, having by boates gotten over the Oder. Here made they havock of whatsoever the Imperialists had left behinde them, but doing no wrong unto any of the Breslawers. Just then was newes brought, that other Swedes had flaine 200 Imperialists, taken Colonell Rotstall prisoner, with 300 horsemen more, at Olaw bridge; (16 English miles to the South East of Breslaw) which were there set to mainaine the Passe over the river Olaw, which falleth into the Oder at Breslaw.

Saturday morning September the first, the Citizens of Breslaw were to meet in the Statehouse: and there to declare themselves, whether they would admit the Swedes and Saxon Armies into their towne: make an accord with them: or otherwise runne the hazzard of hostilitie. And thus farre my Breslaw Author, hath beene my Intelligencer.

Those that had taken Rotstall at Olaw bridge aforesaid; were of Arnhems Armie: who whilst Dubalt was thus employed

Y y

employed

employed about *Breslau*; was with the most of his owne *Saxon* forces, otherwhere taken up in the Countrey. And hee having understood that the Imperialists had another Bridge over the *Oder*, right against *Olaw* aforesaid: thitherward goes he about August the twentic sixth, to force that;

*Arnhems Acti-
ons.*

He gets the
packe at *Olaw*:

followes,

and over-
throws Schaff-
gotzi:

and that way to come at the Imperialists. His having done this, forced the Imperialists so soone to quitt their *Breslau* leaguer, as hath beene before said. *Arnhem* hearing this bridge to be maintained by Colonell *Rottstall* and 400 muskettiers, sends Leiftenant Colonell *Dahn* with 600 Horse & 500 muskettiers, to it. Now whiles *Rottstall* stayes too long to burn downe the Bridge; there was he taken, and his men defeated. August the 29, comes *Arnhem* to repaire the bridge; and Colonell *Eckstadt* with 15 troopes of Horse, 300 muskettiers, and 2 peeces of Ordnance, is sent to hinder him. To stave off him, is Leiftenant Colonell *Schidner* sent, with some of *Kalcksteins* Dragooners: by whom is *Eckstadt* forced to retreat into a wood, a little from the *Oder*. August 31 comes Sergeant-Major-General *Schaffgotzi* to helpe *Eckstadt* hiding himselfe in the laid wood, to be ready to cut the *Saxons* in peeces, so soone as ever they should have passed over. That night *Arnhem* having finisht his bridge, was ready to have put over his forces: but hearing (in time) of *Schaffgotzi's* comming, forbeares it. All that day & night, had the *Saxon* Ordnance so thunderd into the wood; that soone as ever *Schaffgotzi* heard *Arnhems* bridge finished (whom he suspected to have beene strong enough to have adventured over) he with all hast tooke the rout at it, leaving 2 peeces behind him. August 2 at night, *Arnhem* passes the bridge; sending *Dahn* and *Enbusen* with 450. Horse to fetch up and entertain the Imperialists; whilst himselfe should be come up to second him. There were 1200 Imperialists said to be slaine, the rest put to flight, and *Eckstadt* with many officers taken. This was in the way betwixt the *Oder* and *Namslaw* towne, 13 miles from the *Oder*. Hence did *Schaffgotzi* retire to *Kolischen*:

chen: and his men to their fellowes about *Opelen*. *Arnheim* had now his way open unto *Brieg*; the Duke whereof is a *Calvinist*, and elder brother unto the Duke of *Lignitz*. To him, does *Arnheim* propound the example of his brother: which, after a while, the Duke followes. His towne is upon the Southerne banck of the *Oder* 24 *English* miles to the South East of *Breslau*: and his conditions were, to take an oath to the King of *Sweden*, and to the 2 *Electors* of *Saxe* and *Brandenburg*. *Arnheim* pursuing his fortune; brings the countrey as he goes, under contribution: fetches in the 2 fayre townes of *Grotka* and *Monsterberg*, South of *Brieg*: and September 18. takes *Nieffe* 24 miles to the South of the *Oder*. Thence goes he over the *Oder* at *Brieg*; and comes upon that part of the Imperiall Armie, then assembled at *Opelen* upon the North of the *Oder*. From thence he ferrets them, to the other side of the river againe; evn to the townes of *Troppa* and *Iegersdorff*, upon the frontiers of *Moravia*. Hither, in October, was he to have marched; a panick feare now every where possessing the Imperialists; but at this instant did *Walstein* make such foule work in *Misnia*, that the *Elector* was faine to send for his *Arnheim* home againe. And there he staid with his Master, till after the Battell of *Lutzen*.

**Accords with
the Duke of
Brigg:**

**Drives the
Imperialists
over the Oder
back again;**

and is recalled into Mis-
sia.

Dubalt is all this time in treatie with *Breslaw*: a towne worthy to be waited upon. In the meane time, his people lose no oportunitie, in taking the townes about the Countrey. Towards the end of September, a Ritmaster of his, with 8 Horsemen onely in his Company, gets by a wile into the Baron of *Donaw's* very strong Castle of *Wartenburg*: who being in, found meanes and oportunitie to let in their fellowes. October the third, did *Breslaw* accord with *Dubalt*: yeelding to maintaine those 600 Foot, and 1000 Horsemen which he already had about the *Cathedrall*. This Church, is (it seemes) in the Suburbs: and there had *Dubalt's* men beene enquartered, all the last moneth; having fortified it and themselves round about it. *Dubalt* would gladly have put 2 Companies into the towne; but ofthat,

Dubais men surprise i temburg:

and he brings
Breflow to ac-
cord with him

Putting his
Army after
that, into their
Winter Quar-
ters,

the Citizens excused themselves; as having entertained no strange garrison, these 300 years. The getting of this faire towne, was a great worke; and done handsomely. And now did *Dubalt* dispose his people into their winter-quarters, in the villages round about it: so that what was done after this, were but slighter encounters, and by Commanded Partees. And thus have the *Saxons* with helpe of the *Swedes* and *Brandenburgers*; made the reckoning in *Silesia*, to pay the last yeares shot in *Bohemia*. And to leave I the warres in those parts, in a most prosperous condition for the *Saxe* and *Swedis*. God send peace every where: which were wee at home enough sensible of the blessing of; we would in thankfullnesse acknowledge it, to be more glorious then *Victorie*: and the most happy subject in the world, for a noble *History*.

And to this place for a conclusion, have I reserved the Character of his Majestie the King of *Bohemia*; and that because I have mentioned his death page 76. of this *Fourth Part*, which was November the 19. and for that I was ambitious to finish this *Part*, as I did the former, and to crowne it with a *King*.



THE C H A R A C T E R of the King of BOHEMIA.

Est our latter ages should want examples, what God can doe to great men, or how hee sometimes exercises good men; was this Prince set up: even Hee, the greatest of the best Religion, of all *Germany*.

The life of this good Prince, was a strangely counter-

counterchanged mixture of fortunes; a Tablet, of divers countenances. His entry into the Electorate, was glorious; his beginnings, happy; his vertues, respectfull; and such as deservedly attracted all the eyes & courtship of *Germany*, upon him. The great allyances which he had contracted; his high parentage; his mighty Supportments, both within *Germany*, and without it; the considerable eminency of his *House*, his Estate, and the body of confederates, principally depending upon his directions; together with the hopefulness, that other Princes and Peoples more, had of him: these were the faire eminencies that differenced him from other Princes; and these were the procurers of his election to the Crowne of *Bohemia*. An election, indeed, banefull, (for the time) to his person and *House*; yea and to the whole repose of *Germany*: all which, ever since that time, hath felt the dire effects of the lately preceding *Comet*: as having beeene deeply imbroyld in an universall warre; which hath over-run, not the better part alone, but al the 4. corners of it. A warre, that hath for these 14. long yeares, continued with such stomackfulnesse on both sides; and beeene infamed with the ravages & overturnings of so great a part of the Estates and Provinces of the Empire; as are like to carry the markes and scarres of it, yet for a many ages.

And notwithstanding that this Prince, both by himselfe and the potentest of his Friends; hath left no honorable meanes unattempted, for the quenching of this Skarre-fire: yet hath he found such ob-stinate and fatal oppositions, from time to time; such rigide stiffnesses, in the contrary party; yea such a

Y y 3 counter-

counter-bandings from day to day; and those increased too, upon the fortunatenesse of their good successes : that all the mediations of the greatest Kings, have been rejected ; and the Prince himselfe bandited for these many yeares, yea and dispoiled of his possessions. And yet againe, when he saw himself just ready to take *Sel&im* once more of his own country, and to bid farewell to his afflictions: even then, just then, found he his hower-glasse runne out, and his period concluded upon.

The calamity of this Prince, hath beene taken up for a *Theme* by a many licentious tongues, and unlicensed pennes, to declaim against him: they grounding themselves upon the successe and bad condition of his assayres, to make judgement of his manag-
ing the: taking leave most outrageously to detract from him, with an unmanerly and ful-mouthd liberty. Those that neerliest before knew him; confess him, indeed, to have beene unfortunate : but could not devise, which way he came to deserve it : yea they beleeve withall, that there is not a spirit to be found, how well mounted and fortified soever it be; that could have borne the Crosse with a better tem-
pered moderation, then he had done his sufferings: & doe admire that patience of his, which was indeed most eminently remarkable in him. Most true it is, that a many excellent vertues of this Prince, have not onely beene over-clouded, but have also beene oppressed, by the unlucky weightinesse of his infeli-
cities: and yet have so many others broke forth, and beamed out from him, as might have beene sufficient to have dazeled the owle-eyes of Envy, and bungd up the mouths of that malignitie and mis-speaking;

with

with which he hath continually beeene tongue-smitten and persecuted. His *House*, his *Extraction*, his *Kinred*, his *Alliances*; together with his *personall good qualities*, even these ought of duty to commaund forbearance, in those *Satyricall* and mercenary spirits; who are still provided of Common places, both for *Panegyricks* and *Invectives*: which they make serve their turnes according to the times; to make shew of their owne queint wits, even with disparaging of great Princes: whose highnesse of Birth alone, should be enough to make such people know their distances. There is an honour due to Princes, of what side soever they be: yea and an *Apologie* for this very Gentleman: who though too too grossly undervalued he were, in these his misfortunes; yet was ever well respeted by those that best knew him, even in the lowest declinatioes of his disgraces. Highly honored he was by a most ample testimony of that solide judgemented Prince, the K. of *Sweden*, and that upon the offer & variety of occasions: who was sometimes enforced to moderate that thirst and pursuite of military honour in him; and otherwhile professed himselfe to bee so inveigled (as it were) by the sweetnesse of his Conversation, as to engage his promise to him (many a time) to r'impatriate and re-estate him againe in his place of honour, with a request to him to manage his life so, as might be best for the improvement of the publick, & the comfort of his friends, and those about him.

The Subjects of this good Prince, may have plentifull matter of consolation, from that most heroicall, and masculine spirited Princesse, his Queene; and from that sweet and numerous Issue, which he hath

The Character of the King of Bohemia.

bath left behinde him : which promises them an entire affranchisement, one day againe ; and the restelling of a Family so many wayes considerable, as is one of the first and ancientliest descended, of all Europe. A Queene, who for her beautie, and vertues; demerits to be made no lesse, then what shee was borne, or Crowned: and who for the unexampled bearing of these varied afflictions, deserves to be made more, then there are yet Titles for. An Issue so faire; and for their numbers, such a blessing : as were not onely prepared by God, for a present Comfort to their widowed Mother: but, (which their owne excellent towardlinesse, gives pregnant hopes of) for the raising of their owne faire Family againe ; and engraving the Palatine branches, into most of the great Houses of the Empire, and of Europe.

The Reader(I hope) will not take it amisse from me, that I have done that right, unto so great a Prince ; which in all duty and conscience I felt my selfe obliged to. A Prince, who hath these many yeares beene the Butt of misfortunes, and of the insolencies and insultations, which, of course, follow upon them. And this have I done, so much the more confidently ; for that this Prince hath had the honour of alliance, not onely with other great Kings; but also with mine own gracious Soveraigne. Truly all persons of honour, ought of right to esteeme themselves interessed, in the chary conservation of the honours of their equals : and however otherwise diversly affected, yet should they all joyne to rescewe one another from malignity, and to palliate their disgraces, with their very Crownes & Purples.

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